

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

VI

(1906–1907)



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PREFACE

This volume, which contains a large proportion of letters and articles translated from the Gujarati, covers the period from October 20, 1906 to May 31, 1907. It opens with the arrival at Southampton of Gandhiji and Mr. H. O. Ally on a deputation.

Gandhiji was busy even on board ship preparing the case against the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. From the day of his landing to the day he left England, he worked strenuously. It was his daily routine to leave the hotel, immediately after breakfast, on his round of visits to influential persons. Returning in the evening, he was busy dictating notes or letters till past midnight. He met Members of Parliament, ex-Governors and retired civil servants from India, publicists and social workers. He approached even those who opposed India's aspirations, appealed to their "Imperial" sentiment and succeeded in enlisting their support for the cause of the British Indians in South Africa. Here as elsewhere he pursued his usual practice of discovering and concentrating on areas of agreement instead of dwelling on differences. He drafted letters and memorials not only on behalf of the deputation, but also for the South African Indian students at Lincoln's Inn, the Chinese Ambassador, the representatives of wholesale merchants and many others.

He was able to persuade a number of persons eminent in British public life to form themselves into an "introducing deputation". His representations and the support he mustered for them seem to have carried weight, at least initially, with the two Secretaries of State, and Lord Elgin decided that he could not advise His Majesty to sanction the Transvaal Ordinance without further consideration.

During his brief stay in England, Gandhiji found time to call on old friends, like Dr. Oldfield and Mrs Freeth, and relatives of his associates in South Africa even though he was preoccupied with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and Natal legislation. He arranged for the boarding and education of Ruthnam Pather and medical attention for Mr. Ally, but he had no time to have himself treated for his own nose and tooth troubles.

To consolidate the work of the Deputation and to meet future contingencies, Gandhiji had a permanent body formed in England—the South Africa British Indian Committee—with L. W. Ritch as secretary.

Hopeful of the success of the Deputation's efforts, Gandhiji and Ally left England on December 1, reaching Cape Town on December 18. During the voyage, Gandhiji received two telegrams at Madeira, informing him that the British Government had withheld sanction to the

Ordinance. His joy was to be short-lived; for, on December 6, the Transvaal was granted self-government, and the new Government re-enacted the obnoxious Ordinance. Rushed through all the stages on March 22, the law received the sanction of the Imperial Government on May 9. This was not wholly unexpected. Indeed, on reaching South Africa, Gandhiji resumed the task of reminding Indians of the realities of the situation and of their resolve—embodied in the famous Fourth Resolution of September 1906—not to submit to the humiliating Ordinance, if it was passed.

Much of what Gandhiji wrote and said during this period was about the impending struggle. He used all his intellectual and moral resources to rouse and sustain, among Indians, the spirit of resistance and readiness for any sacrifice, including gaol-going. Indicative of his mood at the time is his reference to the suffragette movement in England, which he had had occasion to observe. ("When Women Are Manly, Will Men Be Effeminate?" pp. 335-6).

It was at this time that he summarized, in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, a few chapters from Salter's *Ethical Religion*. This taught that all moral action is voluntary and disinterested, that the moral law is immutable and above all temporal laws, and that an ethical idea is worthless so long as it is not followed by corresponding action. These chapters, like Gandhiji's references to past and contemporary examples of heroic action, served to emphasize the moral basis of the struggle which he was about to launch to uphold India's honour in South Africa. He gave the signal, by himself first taking the pledge of passive resistance, in a historic letter addressed to *Indian Opinion* ("Mr. Gandhi's Pledge", pp. 418-9).

Gandhiji made use of the Press more intensively than ever to clarify the Indian viewpoint and to refute hostile allegations. While preparing for the struggle, he was at the same time ready to negotiate peace. In a letter to *The Star* (pp. 501-2), he pleads for "a reasonable compromise" and appeals even at that late hour to the good sense of the Colonists.

Summing up his personal faith and outlook in a letter to his elder brother, Lakshmidas Gandhi, (pp. 430-5) Gandhiji declares that his family now "comprises all living beings". The ground-note of the Volume is to be heard clearly in a speech to the Durban Mahomedan Association (p. 265): "I believe God is always near me. He is never away from me. May you also act in this faith. Believe that God is near you and always follow Truth."

NOTE TO THE READER

The petitions and representations addressed to various authorities, communications to the Press, resolutions adopted at meetings and questions drafted for Members of Parliament—which are included in this Volume—are attributed to Gandhiji on grounds similar to those explained in the Preface to Volume I. Where there were special reasons for the inclusion of particular items and when found necessary, these have been set out in footnotes. Gandhiji's unsigned writings in *Indian Opinion* have been identified on the basis of his general testimony in his autobiographical writings, the opinion of his associates, Messrs H. S. L. Polak and Chhaganlal Gandhi, and other available evidence.

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to keep strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names or words have been retained as in the original. In the translations from the Gujarati, our effort has been to reproduce faithfully the matter in the original, keeping in view at the same time their readability as English.

The date of an item, if available, has been given at the top right-hand corner; if the original bears no date, a conjectural date is given within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item along with the source is that of publication.

Introductions in italics and matter within square brackets in the text have been supplied by the editors. Round brackets occurring in the original have been retained. Passages quoted by Gandhiji have been printed in small type in indented paragraphs.

References in footnotes to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* and *Satyagraha in South Africa* cite only the part and chapter in view of the varying pagination in the different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; and C. W. denotes the documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi. Among the abbreviations sometimes to be found in the source-line, "C. S. O." stands for Colonial Secretary's Office, "C.O." for the Colonial Office, and "Lt-G." or "L. G." for Lieutenant-Governor.

A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the Volume are appended at the end.

NOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this Volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya and the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, and the All India Congress Committee Library, New Delhi; the Servants of India Society, Poona; the Colonial Office and the India Office Libraries, London; the Phœnix Settlement, Durban; Pretoria Archives, Pretoria; Town Council, Krugersdorp; Shri D. G. Tendulkar and the publishers of *Mahatma*; Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ahmedabad; Shri Arun Gandhi, Bombay; and the following newspapers and journals: *Indian Opinion*, *India*, *The Morning Leader*, *The Natal Advertiser*, *The Natal Mercury*, *The Rand Daily Mail*, *The Star*, *South Africa*, *The Times*, *The Transvaal Leader* and *The Tribune*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, the Library of the Indian Council of World Affairs, the British Council Library, the Central Secretariat Library and the United States Information Service Library, New Delhi; the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Public Library, Johannesburg; the British Museum Library, London; and the Librarian, National Library, Calcutta.

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than if there have been laws of general application, as, for instance, at the Cape and Natal.

All we claim is fair and honourable treatment for British Indians residing in the Transvaal. This has been often promised by the British Government. In fact, as Lord Lansdowne stated, the disabilities of British Indians in the Transvaal were one of the causes of the late war.

The Tribune, 22-10-1906

2. *INTERVIEW TO "THE MORNING LEADER"*[1]

[*October 20, 1906*]

Mr. Gandhi, in a conversation [at Waterloo station] with a representative of *The Morning Leader*, asserted that, so far from the war having brought relief to the Indians, these British subjects were now worse off than they were under Boer rule.

The only things the Boers did were to deprive the British Indians of burgher rights and landownership, and to pass the Law [3] of 1885 under which those of them desiring to settle as traders in the country had to be registered and pay a fee of £3. Under the British regime, although a Kaffir may hold land, we are still debarred from the privilege, except in Locations or wards specially set apart for us, the idea being to reproduce the system of the Jewish ghettos.

ADDED DISABILITIES

But other disabilities have been added. There are, for example, difficulties as to travelling in trams. In Johannesburg British Indians are only allowed to ride in trailer cars. In Pretoria they are not allowed to travel on trams at all. It is, however, more particularly in connection with the question of registration that we feel aggrieved. Under the Boers, the immigration of British Indians was absolutely free and unrestricted. But today, not only are Indians prevented from entering the country, but even old settlers find it difficult to regain admission.

It is true that, under Law 3 of 1885 passed by the Boers, Indians settling in the country for purposes of trade had to register themselves. But the Legislative Council has now carried an amending law—the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance—which, the British Indians assert, is worse than the law which it seeks to amend. It is in connection with this new piece of legislation that the Deputation has come to London.

HARDSHIPS OF THE PASS

By virtue of that Ordinance, not only traders, but every Indian now resident in the Transvaal, must be registered and carry a pass (like the Kaffirs). This pass is euphemistically called a certificate of registration. I must point out that this measure has been introduced in spite of the fact that Indians in the country are already in possession

[1] This report was reproduced in *India*, 26-10-1906 and in *Indian Opinion*, 1-12-1906.

of permits which authorize them to reside there, while they also hold registration certificates for which they have each paid £3.

When Great Britain took possession of the Transvaal, the Indians, on the advice of Lord Milner, exchanged their Boer registration for English registration, and even submitted to their thumb marks being impressed on their registration certificates. This certificate, by the way, also contained particulars as to the age, height, and family of the person who carried it. In reality it was an identification certificate.

"Unauthorized" Immigration

And now the new Ordinance enacts yet a third registration.

The reason given is that there has been a large unauthorized immigration of Indians into the Transvaal, and it is proposed, by means of the new Ordinance, to ascertain who they are. But this object could just as well be attained by inspecting the registration certificate now held. As a matter of fact, the Indians stoutly deny that there is any unauthorized influx on a wholesale scale, as the Government asserts, and they have asked for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the question.

The amending law will require a much stricter identification than under the old system. As the Assistant Colonial Secretary (Mr. Curtis) said, the Indian, no matter what his status, will have to have ten finger impressions on his certificate (instead of the thumb-impression only). Failure to register will carry with it very severe penalties. Not only will the adult male population have to be registered, but also children of parents domiciled in the Transvaal, and even infants in arms.

Prejudice against Colour

The Indian community recognize the prejudice against colour in the Transvaal, and have, therefore, accepted the principle of restriction of British Indian immigration — but on such terms as are not humiliating, and do not interfere with the liberty of those already settled in the country. This can be easily done by passing legislation after the Natal or Cape style. Legislation of this character ought to be general, and applicable to all. Throughout the self-governing colonies, hitherto, special class legislation has been vetoed by the home Government. An attempt made by Natal to pass legislation specially affecting Asiatics was disallowed by Mr. Chamberlain; and we have come here to try and induce Lord Elgin to withhold the royal sanction to the amending law, and to appoint a commission to inquire into the allegation as to the Indian influx.

Mr. Gandhi states that the Indians are greatly stirred over the matter, and are prepared to go to gaol rather than submit.

The Morning Leader, 22-10-1906

3. LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

[LONDON,]
October 22, 1906

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
[LONDON]

SIR,

I have seen the cablegram in your issue of to-day's date from your Johannesburg correspondent in connection with the British Indian Deputation that has arrived from the Transvaal to wait upon the Imperial authorities regarding the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal.

I trust that, in fairness, you will allow us to correct certain misstatements made by your correspondent. He says: "The present Ordinance provides for the complete registration of all Asiatics in such a way that personation, in which the Asiatic is a past master, would be made impossible." We deny that there has been any personation, and we venture to state emphatically that the existing registration certificates held by British Indians entirely prevent personation. These certificates contain the names of the holders [and] their wives, number of children, their age, height, [and] their thumb imprints. Whenever an attempt has been made to personate, the culprit has been promptly brought to justice.

Your correspondent states that the present Ordinance will give a full title to Asiatics already domiciled, and that it will extend greater privileges to them. They have the full title to residence already, unless it is to be snatch[ed] from them by fresh legislation. They hold permits authorizing them to enter and remain in the Colony of the Transvaal, also registration certificates above mentioned, which were taken out by them as a voluntary act on the advice of Lord Milner who at the time assured them that those registration certificates were final and complete.[2]

That Asiatics will be absolved from the obnoxious registration fee is a preposterous statement as they have already paid it, either to the Boer Government or to the British. They will not be given a title to their land and mosques, as your correspondent suggests. He is thinking of the Draft Ordinance which contained a clause authorizing the Government to give the British Indians a title to their mosques or places

[1] This was published "in substance" in *The Times*, 25-10-1906. The letter was reproduced in full in *India*, 26-10-1906, and in *Indian Opinion*, 24-11-1906.

[2] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 301-8.

of worship but not to their land apart from mosque premises. But this clause does not now find place in the Ordinance as passed by the Legislative Council, nor was it necessary, because the Supreme Court of the Transvaal has decided that, in spite of Law 3 of 1885, Indians, acting as a religious corporation, [can] hold fixed property for religious purposes. British Indians in their wildest dreams have never claimed the right of free immigration into the Transvaal. They recognize the several prejudices against any such immigration, and have therefore accepted the principle of restriction in vogue at the Cape, Natal and other British Colonies.

The British Indians of the Transvaal respectfully but firmly oppose the Ordinance because it imposes wanton, uncalled for and unjust degradation upon them. It reduces them to a level lower than the Kaffirs. It sets up a system of passes and identification applicable only to criminals. Is it right that every Indian, irrespective of status, should be called upon to carry a pass containing impressions of all his digits, to be produced to every policeman who may choose to ask for it? Is it right that babies in arms should be taken to an officer called the Registrar of Asiatics, to give him particulars of identification in respect of the baby and to have it provisionally registered[?]

Whereas Law 3 of 1885 requires registration of traders only and registration certificates under it are merely a receipt for £3, the present law requires registration of the above kind of every male Indian in the Colony.

The statement that the first undersigned has been the principal agent through whom Indians obtained permits to enter the Transvaal, and that he has in the past established a large business on this footing, is false. The large number of Indian refugees had already entered the Transvaal at the time the first undersigned was required to settle there.[1]

It is hardly necessary to deal with the personal element introduced by your correspondent. It is felt that the British Indian community has been much misrepresented and misunderstood.

Any influx of Asiatics into the Transvaal on a wholesale basis has been all denied by the British Indian community, whose position to-day is infinitely worse than it was under the Boer regime. The community has asked for an enquiry into the alleged influx of Asiatics on a large scale.[2] We assert that the vast majority of the 13,000 British Indians of the Transvaal are in possession of lawful permits and certificates. If there are any without the necessary documents, the Peace Preservation Ordinance is strong enough and severe enough to expel such people from the country. Successful prosecutions have often taken place in connection with such men.

[1] This was in early 1903; *vide* Vol. III, p. 476.

[2] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 221-3.

It will therefore be seen that the British Indian community is prepared to meet in a perfectly fair spirit [the fear][1] as to undue influx or undue competition in trade; but it claims for the resident Indian population the ordinary rights of citizenship, namely, freedom to hold landed property, freedom of locomotion and freedom of trade under general regulations, without class distinction.

We are, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]
MEMBERS OF THE
TRANSVAAL BRITISH [INDIAN] DEPUTATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4385

4. *LETTER TO F. MACKARNESS*[2]

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
October 24, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. H. O. Ally of Johannesburg and I have arrived, being appointed as a Deputation by the British Indian Association of the Transvaal in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council of the Transvaal.

It is our intention to wait upon the authorities in connection with the Ordinance, as also upon prominent public men who have taken an interest in South African matters. I shall be obliged if you will kindly grant the Deputation an interview at an early d8[3], and allow it to place the position b4[4] you.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully

F. MACKARNESS, ESQ., M. P.[5]
6, KING'S BENCH WALK
INNER TEMPLE

Copy to Sir Lepel Griffin, K. C. S. I.,[6] Sloane Square, London[7]

From a photostat of the typewritten, unsigned draft: S. N. 4386

[1] These words are found in the version published in *India*.

[2] According to the secretary's note, similar letters were sent to P. A. Molteno, M.P., Sir Charles Dilke, M.P. and Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley.

[3] Date

[4] Before

[5] Frederic Coleridge Mackarness, (1854-1920), advocate of Cape Supreme Court, 1882; Liberal Member of Parliament, 1906-10

[6] (1838-1909); Anglo-Indian administrator and Chairman of the Council of East India Association, author of books on India and an advocate of the Indian cause in South Africa

[7] This is in Gandhiji's hand.

5. INTERVIEW TO "SOUTH AFRICA"[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 25, 1906]

[REPORTER:] Will you please give me your views on this question which has brought you so many thousand miles, Mr. Gandhi?

[GANDHIJI:] With pleasure, I had better begin at the beginning.

If you please.

Well, Mr. H. O. Ally, the Chairman of the Hamidiya Islamic Society, and myself have come over as an appointed Deputation from the British Indian Association of the Transvaal in virtue of the resolution passed by the great Indian mass meeting held at the Old Empire Theatre in Johannesburg last month.

And your object?

Our object is to place before the authorities here what we consider to be a true statement of the facts with a view to securing a disallowance of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal.

You consider, then, that the information so far available to the Colonial Secretary and the Secretary of State for India is inadequate?

That is so. I notice that you, as well as the London *Times*, have been misinformed regarding the Ordinance and the objection to it.

In what respect, may I ask?

For instance, it has been supposed that there is a very great unauthorized influx, [in]to the Transvaal, of British Indians, and that this influx is actually countenanced by the British Indian community as a body.

Then are those suppositions incorrect?

Yes. If those two statements were at all true, there would be some excuse for what is, after all, panic legislation; but the British Indian community has repeatedly denied the alleged unauthorized influx.

I take it that you agree with those denials, Mr. Gandhi?

Certainly. I claim personally to have a very wide experience of the working of the Permit Department, and I have no hesitation in saying that there is absolutely no unauthorized influx of British Indians [in]to the Colony, except [in] isolated cases; and those cases can be most effectively dealt with even under the present Peace Preservation Ordinance and Law No. 3 of 1885.

AS THE LAW STANDS AT PRESENT

Indeed, successful prosecutions have taken place in connection with any Indians who have tried to enter the Colony, either without

[1] This appeared in *South Africa*, 27-10-1906, and was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.

permits, or on permits not belonging to them. Such persons can usually be detected by comparing the thumb-impressions of those who may present permits or registration certificates with the thumb imprints on those documents.

And if they do not agree, a prosecution follows?

Yes. If the thumb-impressions do not tally, the unlawful holders of such documents are liable to very heavy penalties. If an Indian is found in the Colony without a permit, he has either to leave the Transvaal on a summary notice, under pain of imprisonment, or to show that he belongs to one of the exempted classes mentioned in the Peace Preservation Ordinance. So you will see that the present machinery is absolutely complete. It therefore came to me as a painful surprise when I read a long cablegram in *The Times* last Monday to the effect that there was an unauthorized influx of British Indians [in]to the Transvaal, and that there was a great deal of personation going on which it was difficult to detect.

You complain, I believe, of injustice being done in some cases even under the present laws?

Undoubtedly. Even under the present laws, a great deal of terrible injustice has been inflicted, as, for instance, in the case of the Indian woman Punia,[1] which aroused general sympathy throughout the Transvaal. In that case, as is now well known, an Indian woman was torn away from her husband who held a proper permit.

But was not that rather an exceptional case?

By no means. In another case a child under eleven years of age was taken away from his parent because he was supposed to have come into the Transvaal on a permit not his own.[2]

What happened eventually?

A cablegram has now been received, stating that the Supreme Court has held the conviction of the child to be wholly bad, and has expressed the opinion that such prosecutions were calculated to bring ridicule and contempt upon the administration of the law.[3]

Scope of New Ordinance

If, therefore, the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance now before Lord Elgin is passed, one can easily understand how much more difficult the position of British Indians in the Transvaal is likely to be.

Does it represent, then, such very exceptional legislation?

Indeed it does. The new Ordinance goes much further than anything I have seen in the legislation of any of the British Colonies.

But in what does the head and front of its offending consist?

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 432.
[2] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 452.
[3] *Vide* "British Indians in the Transvaal", pp. 107-9.

I will tell you. It is most humiliating, in that it will require every Indian, irrespective of status, to put down the impression of his ten digits, and such a pass will have to be produced to every policeman who cares to demand it. All Indians, including children, will have to be registered in this manner, or, as it is called in the case of infants under eight years of age, provisionally registered.

And this is quite a new provision?

Yes. All this used not to be so under the Dutch regime, and we could always rely upon British protection whenever there was anything harsh or unjust in the administration of Law No. 3 of 1885.

But this Ordinance only amends the former Law?

No; it is a mistake to call the new Ordinance an amending ordinance, because its scope is entirely different from that of Law No. 3 of 1885. The latter penalises Indian traders to the extent only of one single payment of £3, whilst the former entirely restricts the immigration of British Indians.

Then do you take strong objection to that restriction?

No, with the restriction we do not quarrel, but the manner of it is, as I have shown, most humiliating and totally uncalled for.

The restriction itself, then, is not the bone of contention?

It is like this. We recognize the prejudice that exists in the Transvaal against British Indians and men of colour generally. We have, therefore, accepted the principle of restriction on the Cape or the Natal basis. After profound consideration, that has been the line of legislation adopted for all the colonies which have to face similar problems.

An Enlightened Indian View

There is not the slightest reason, why the Transvaal should be allowed to go any further than the other Colonies, or why the people of the Transvaal themselves should wish for any further powers, unless they intend—which I for one do not believe—to drive the Indians already in the country out of the Colony.

Has there not been considerable agitation against the Indian trader?

We hear often of trade competition by British Indians, certainly, but I personally consider that new traders' licences may be regulated by the Town Councils or Licensing Boards, somewhat after the fashion of the Cape Dealers' Act; only such legislation, in order to be just, ought to be of general application, and not class legislation. You will therefore see that the British Indian community is perfectly willing to satisfy all reasonable objections raised to its presence, but, after that has been done, I think that all fair-minded men must admit that those at least who are [already] resident in the Colony should have freedom to move about, freedom to own landed property, and freedom to trade

under the regulations I have referred to. I cannot conceive what exception any South African can take to a programme such as this.

Then the statement you have just made may be taken as embodying the case for the British Indians in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi?

Yes, it is because we believe that there is a great deal of misunderstanding and exaggeration about our position that Mr. Ally and I have travelled all the way from South Africa to endeavour to place our case fairly before the authorities. We are anxious to reconcile local opinions as much as possible.

You have not yet been received by Lord Elgin?

Not yet; but all arrangements are being made, and we hope to see him in a few days. We should like the Deputation to be led and introduced by a number of British Members of Parliament and other prominent men who sympathize with the British Indians of the Transvaal on this question; and I thank *South Africa* from my heart for allowing me to give expression to our views in its columns.

Indian Opinion, 24-11-1906

6. *TELEGRAM TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE*

[*October 25, 1906*]

TO
MUNCHERJI
196, CROMWELL ROAD, S. W.

SIR LEPEL HAS DECLINED TAKE PART DEPUTATION.[1]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4388

7. *TELEGRAM TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD*

[*October 25, 1906*]

TO
SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD[2]
119, THE AVENUE
WEST EALING

MR. ALLY AND I HAVE ARRIVED FROM TRANSVAAL AS DEPUTATION WAIT ON LORD ELGIN. SIR HENRY COTTON, MR. NAOROJI,

[1] He did ultimately lead the deputation.

[2] (1832-1917); Anglo-Indian official and author of *Industrial Arts of India* and other books and a student of Indian philosophy and art

SIR MANCHERJI, MR. COX[1] HAVE AGREED TO FORM DEPUTATION COMMITTEE AND INTRODUCE US AND LEAD. MAY I VENTURE ASK YOU JOIN AND BE SPOKESMAN, MAY I REQUEST ALSO INTERVIEW ? AM WIRING AS URGENT.

GANDHI, HOTEL CECIL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4389

8. *TELEGRAM TO AMEER ALI*

[*October 25, 1906*]

TO
AMEER ALI[2]

WROTE YOU TUESDAY[3] REQUESTING INTERVIEW FOR INDIAN DEPUTATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA. HAVE NOT YET HEARD. PROBABLY LETTER MISCARRIED. IT IS PROPOSED THERE SHOULD BE DEPUTATION INTRODUCING US TO LORD ELGIN. HAVE JUST INVITED SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD TO BE SPOKESMAN. SIR HENRY COTTON, MR. NAOROJI HAVE CONSENTED JOIN DEPUTATION. MAY I REQUEST YOU ALSO JOIN ? PLEASE WIRE REPLY AND TIME FOR INTERVIEW AT THE HOTEL CECIL.

GANDHI, HOTEL CECIL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4390

[1] Harold Cox, (1859-1936); Professor of Mathematics, Aligarh College, 1885-7; economist and journalist; Member of Parliament, 1906-9

[2] A former Judge of the Calcutta High Court, he was at this time a Member of the Privy Council. Author of the *Spirit of Islam* and *A Short History of the Saraeens.*

[3] This is not available.

9. *LETTER TO S. M. MANGA*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 25, 1906

DEAR MR. MANGA,

Will you please give me a call on Monday between nine and half past in the morning, for all the other days I think I shall be engaged.

Yours truly,

S. M. MANGA, ESQ.[1]
106, BARON'S COURT ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4392

10. *LETTER TO J. H. POLAK*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 25, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

You will consider it perhaps funny that I have not yet looked you up.

Many thanks for sending the typist. Miss Lawson[2] is her name. She and I have commenced to know each other, and we are getting on very nicely. Unfortunately I had decided to take on Mr. Simmonds of South Africa, who was Private Secretary to Sir George Farrar[3], and whom I knew very well. I shall therefore reluctantly have to part with Miss Lawson next Saturday.

I want to discuss with you the question you incidentally raised while we were walking to your hospitable home. If therefore you should not be otherwise engaged, will you lunch with me tomorrow, and call here some time between one and two ? If I have not returned from

[1] Suliman Manga was at this time studying for the Bar in London. *Vide* Vol. V p. 262.

[2] Miss Edith Lawson, secretarial assistant to the Deputation; *vide* "Certificate to Miss E. Lawson", p. 238.

[3] A miner, millionaire and legislator of the Transvaal; *vide* Vol. V, p. 39.

my calls, I shall ask you kindly to wait either in the Hall or in my room until my return.

Yours truly,

J. H. POLAK, ESQ.[1]
28, GROSVENOR ROAD
CANONBURY, N.

PS.

If you will let me have a telephone message between 9 and 9.30 as to whether you can come or not, I shall be glad, as I am generally away after 9.30.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4393

11. LETTER TO A. H. GOOL

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 25, 1906

DEAR MR. GOOL,

Your father has asked me particularly to see you before I return to Johannesburg. My arrangements do not allow of my paying friendly calls at present, and lest I may be too much engaged during the whole of my stay, may I ask you to give me a call at the above address between 9 and 9.30 in the morning, any day. The day is occupied with paying visits, and I am never sure when I am in. I hope you are getting on well.

Yours truly,

A. H. GOOL, ESQ.[2]
27, PECKHAM ROAD, S.E.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4394

12. LETTER TO L. M. JAMES

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 25, 1906

DEAR MR. JAMES,

I waited for you on Wednesday at lunch time, thinking you would turn up. I am sorry you did not. I take it some engagement kept you away. I return the handkerchief you kindly lent me. Perhaps

[1] Father of H. S. L. Polak
[2] Son of Hamid Gool, a leading Indian of Cape Town

you will be able to meet me some other time. Mr. Lew[1] was to have sent me a representative of the Chinese Embassy. I have to draw up a letter to the Foreign Office[2] in connection with it. Will you kindly therefore send me a copy of your representation ? I take it it is the same that I drew up.[3] Unfortunately I have not a copy with me.

Yours truly,

L. M. JAMES, ESQ.[4]
CHINESE LEGATION
PORTLAND PLACE, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4395

13. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 25, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your telegram in reply to my wire[5] regarding the Indian Deputation. I have been in constant touch with Sir Muncherji[6], and am writing to him again,[7] and have no doubt that he will approve of the idea of your becoming spokesman. I may mention that I approached Sir Lepel Griffin, but somehow, although he is in full sympathy with our views, he will not lead. Before, however, the deputation goes forth, Mr. Ally and I are anxious to pay our respects to you and to place the position before you. I hope, therefore, that there will be an appointment in your letter following your telegram. If not, I shall thank you to give me one.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD
119, THE AVENUE
WEST EALING

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4396

[1] Yuk Lin Lew, Chinese Consul-General in the Transvaal. Both he and James sailed by the same steamer as Gandhiji and H. O. Ally.

[2] *Vide* "Draft for Chinese Ambassador", pp. 59-60.

[3] This is not available.

[4] L. M. James was specially deputed by the Chinese community in South Africa to present, in person, a petition on their behalf to the Chinese Ambassador in England.

[5] *Vide* "Telegram to Sir George Birdwood", pp. 10-1.

[6] Gandhiji now spells the name as "Muncherji", which is how Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree himself spelt it.

[7] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree", p. 16.

14. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 25, 1906

MY DEAR RITCH

I had a very long chat with Sir Muncherji, and am to have another again. Will you please come up to the City tomorrow ? You need not necessarily see me, as I may be away, except between 9 and 9.30 but I would like you to look up office rooms[1] in Victoria Street or some such neighbourhood. I see that the main difficulty will prove to be with our finances in working the committee, especially for South African work. Sir Muncherji has promised to work whole-heartedly. He seems to feel most keenly about the question, and there is a great deal of organizing still to be done so that something may be definitely fixed before I go. I hope Mr. Cohen[2] is better; he should certainly be sent to a hospital. You should see him some time tomorrow, either before or after you have finished your round.

Yours sincerely,

L. [W.] RITCH, ESQ.[3]
[41, SPRINGFIELD ROAD
ST. JOHN'S WOOD, N.]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4397

15. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
October 25, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

SIR,

Mr. H. O. Ally and I, appointed by the British Indian Association of the Transvaal as a Deputation to wait upon Your Lordship in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal,

[1] For the proposed South Africa British Indian Committee

[2] Ritch's father-in-law

[3] A theosophist friend and assistant of Gandhiji; was at this time in England keeping terms for the Bar.

published in the Transvaal *Government Gazette* on the 28th day of September, 1906, arrived on Saturday last, and I have the honour to report our arrival.

My co-Delegate and I shall have the honour to avail ourselves of the permission graciously granted by His Lordship to wait upon him in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal. Several gentlemen who have interested themselves in the British Indian question in South Africa will probably introduce the Deputation to His Lordship, and they will in due course request an appointment.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original: C. O. 291, Vol. 113, Ind; also office copy: S. N. 4398

16. LETTER TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 25, 1906

DEAR SIR MUNCHERJEE,

At the time I telegraphed[1] to you, I telegraphed to Sir George Birdwood[2] also asking him whether he will lead the deputation. He sends a telegram which I am sure you will appreciate. He says: "Yes, if Sir Muncherji approves I will attend and speak." I have now written to him telling him that I have no doubt you will. Will you kindly write to Sir George Birdwood whatever you deem fit, and let me know.

It is strange that Sir Lepel, although he has always sympathized, would not join the deputation. I believe it is because of his not being in harmony with the other proposed members of the deputation.

I have not yet heard from Mr. Ameer Ali. I have, therefore, telegraphed to him.[3]

I remain,
Yours truly,

SIR MUNCHERJEE M. BHOWNAGGREE, K.C.S.I.
196, CROMWELL ROAD
LONDON, S. W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4399

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree", p. 10.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Sir George Birdwood", pp. 10-1.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Ameer Ali", p. 11.

17. LETTER TO G. J. ADAM

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry I missed you when you gave me a call at the above address. I shall be pleased to see you between ten and half-past tomorrow morning, and to give you all the information you may require. My co-Delegate Mr. Ally, I am sorry to say, is at present at the Lady Margaret Hospital undergoing treatment for rheumatism.

Yours faithfully,

G. J. ADAM, ESQ.[1]
82, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4400

18. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I am sending you all the cuttings that I consider to be useful. If I can find the time, I shall translate[2] the substance of the fight of the women suffragists for the Guzerati[3] columns, but if I do not, let Chhaganlal translate them, and make an effective use of these valuable cuttings. I have asked Mr. Mukerji[4] also to deal with the matter in his London Letter. Of course all the cuttings I am sending you are not necessarily to be used for *Indian Opinion*. Some of them you would like to see yourself—that is why I am sending them.

I have not allowed myself a moment's rest ever since my landing here. Work commenced on Saturday immediately on landing.

[1] Of Reuter; *vide* "Interview to Reuter", pp. 31-2.

[2] *Vide* "Deeds Better than Words", pp. 29-30.

[3] Gujarati

[4] Gandhiji had asked him to send regular despatches for *Indian Opinion*, especially selected news items and comments from *The Times; vide* "Letter to J. C. Mukerji", pp. 34-5.

I gave an interview to *The Tribune*[1] man on board, and to *The Morning Leader*[2] man, whom your father had brought with him, at the station immediately I got on to the platform. Soon after having my meal, Mr. Ally and I went over to the London Indian Society and paid our respects to the Grand Old Man, and made with him appointments for seeing Sir William[3] and Sir Henry[4]. I have not gone to bed before one o'clock, except on Wednesday night: interviewing people takes up a lot of time. So far as I have progressed, it seems that Sir George Birdwood, supported by Sir Muncherji, Sir Henry Cotton and others, will introduce us to Lord Elgin. It will therefore be a very good movement. Mr. Ameer Ali has telegraphed to me saying he also would join in introducing the Deputation. Lord Elgin will therefore know what an influential backing we have and that the Conservative, the Liberal, the Anglo-Indian and the Mahomedan opinion is all solid in our favour.

I have received your cable. It was extended by me for the columns of *India*. I hope it represents correctly what I received in your cablegram. It was not very clear. I send you a copy of the cablegram as received by me. You will see for yourself whether it is a correct copy. I hardly think it is. You should have given me the necessary stops.

As soon as the date of the Deputation is fixed, I shall cable you and shall include a few words regarding Mr. Abdool Gani. I may, however, state that I made absolutely no such statement as was attributed to me by Mr. Murray. I did not tell him that the second bond should be lodged with the Bank: on the contrary, I told him that we should use the second bond for raising a loan. The whole conversation took place through the 'phone. You may, therefore, assure Mr. Abdool Gani that there was no such binding statement made by me.

I now come to the most important part of my letter. I think that it is quite possible to have here a very strong committee solely devoted to the affairs of British Indians in South Africa. Sir Muncherji is very enthusiastic. Sir William has approved of the suggestion. The way is therefore paved. Ritch's hands will be free. No matter whether the Deputation succeeds or not, its work must be continued, and there is not the slightest doubt that we will have legislation as soon as Responsible Government is established. We will then be able to avoid a Deputation, which will be almost [un]necessary if we have an effective working committee. We would not only then do more through it than through a temporary deputation, but would do it at perhaps one-tenth of the cost of a

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Tribune*", pp.1-2.
[2] *Vide* "Interview to *The Morning Leader*", pp. 2-3.
[3] Sir William Wedderburn
[4] Sir Henry Cotton

deputation; but if it requires the proper man, it requires funds also. I think that at the most—or perhaps at the least—I have not yet all the figures before me—we would want to spend £25 per month. The committee will probably last two years. Anyhow we shall guarantee a year's expenses, viz., £300. We would not be able to take up offices cheaply on less than a year's lease. We would have to pay something to Ritch, as he cannot be expected in the present state of his finances to do the work gratis. After he returns to South Africa, it is my intention to offer the post to your father, if he will take it. I am going to discuss it today with him at luncheon time. Please therefore call a meeting of the Association British Indian Committee[1] and place the whole position before them. If they agree, let me have a cable saying, Yes. At the same time you should have funds ready. Do not send me the affirmative cable unless you get the funds there in your possession, or unless you feel absolutely certain of getting them. Mr. Ally entirely approves of the idea; probably he will be writing.

I passed last Sunday with your people. Nothing surprised me, as you had prepared me for everything; otherwise to meet your sisters and your brilliant father would have been a most agreeable surprise. Both the sisters are really most lovable, and if I was unmarried, or young, or believed in mixed marriage, you know what I would have done! As it is, I told them that if I had made their acquaintance in 1888 (for not doing which they took me severely to task) I should have adopted them as daughters, from which proposition your father violently dissented. Your mother was very hospitable. Professor Parmanand[2] was with me. He has made himself one of the family. Your mother is suffering from a very severe attack of indigestion. I mildly proposed an extended Jewish fast. I am afraid the proposal won't wash, however it has gone in for what it is worth. I pushed in the claim for earth-bandages also, and by the time I have done with them, I might be able to make some impression. Anyhow she said she was quite open to conviction. The soup, let me tell you, was all prepared by your father. He told me he passed a considerable time in thinking out all the ingredients, etc., etc. I have not been able to go and see Milly's[3] sister. I see that I have more work before me than I bargained for, and have not a moment to spare to pay friendly calls. I have, however, written to her asking her to give me an appointment for an evening. The reply is due some time today. I will not leave before seeing her.

You will not be surprised to learn that this is being dictated to our friend Mr. Simmonds.

[1] Committee of the British Indian Association

[2] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 21.

[3] Mrs. Millie Graham Polak

I sent the cable[1] about our arrival, as Mr. Ally was anxious that I should. He has promised to do so to Mrs. Ally.

Since the above was in type I have seen your father. He thinks that £300 per year will not be sufficient. Of course his ideas are necessarily large. At the same time they are entitled to every respect, as he has local knowledge and experience. If, therefore, you can push through the proposal for £500, it will be better. We should simply spend what is absolutely necessary. At the same time, if authority is given for spending more, I know that the money will not be wasted. I have now seen Mr. Scott, and, you will be pleased to hear, Mr. J. M. Robertson. Your father took me to Mr. Scott, who is his personal friend, and it was at the House of Commons that Mr. Robertson happened to come in, and we were introduced to him by Mr. Scott. Both gentlemen have interested themselves in the question. Mr. Scott suggested that I should address a number of members of the House of Commons,[2] and Mr. Scott and Mr. Robertson are going to see about it. A similar suggestion has been made by Mr. Mackarness also. Let us see what happens. This now brings me up to date. I need not now say anything more. Carefully go through all the cuttings I am sending you: they are worth reading. My kind regards to all. I have not the time to write separately to any one else. As it is, this portion of my letter is being dictated at five minutes to eight. I am to see your people again on Sunday.

Will you please send this letter to Mr. West so that I may not have to repeat in my letter to him what I have said in this letter ? I do not think the personal matters I have touched upon need prevent this letter going to him. I am not sending you a copy of the full text of our letter to *The Times*[3] as you will see it reproduced in *India*. You will see something in the current issue of *India* about the election of Mr. Naoroji to the Presidentship of the Congress. You need not deal with the matter in the paper. I have no time to go into the reasons. Had it been necessary I would have dealt with it from here. You may reproduce two notes from *India* without any comment, regarding the treatment of indentured Indians on board the *Umfuli*.

Yours sincerely,

[H. S. L. Polak, Esq.
Box 6522
Johnnesburg
South Africa]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4406

[1] This is not available.

[2] This he did on November 7; *vide* "Meeting at House of Commons", p. 105.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times*", pp. 4-6.

19. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

DEAR MR. WEST,

Ever since Saturday last I have not had breathing time, and except for one night I have not been able to go to bed before one o'clock in the morning. I have written a very long letter to Polak,[1] and have asked him to send it on to you for perusal. Please read it yourself and show it to Chhaganlal. It will give you in full detail everything about my movements. As this is being typed at 8.30 p.m. you will excuse me for not giving you a long letter. I see that I shall be busy up to the end of my stay here. Under the circumstances it is hardly possible to cut myself away from London for full one day. I have, therefore, asked Miss Pywell[2] to see me in London by appointment, and have offered, if you will let me, to defray her expenses. I am only hoping that she will come. I have had a chat with Mr. Mukerji about his contribution.

Yours sincerely,

A. H. WEST, ESQ.
Indian Opinion
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4401

20. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I have not a moment to spare. It is now 8.30 p.m. and I have not touched the Gujarati letter. If I can, I want to give you one leading article[3] and one correspondence letter[4] in continuation of what I have sent you already from the *Armadale*. I shall do what I can : the

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Ada Pywell, later Mrs. West
[3] "Deeds Better than Words", pp. 29-30.
[4] Perhaps a typing error for 'correspondent's letter'. The reference is to "The Deputation's Voyage–IV": *vide* pp. 27-9.

rest you must learn from my long letter to Mr. Polak,[1] which I have asked him to send there. Mr. West is bringing his sister there. I think it is a wise step. She appeared to be simple and willing. We do want some English ladies there. Do please make the best use possible of her. Let your wife and other ladies mix freely with her, and let her feel that there is no distance between her and us, and make her as comfortable as possible. Let the ladies learn all that is to be learnt from her and give her all that can possibly be given to her in the way of teaching. Each party has very strong points for the other to imbibe. I do hope all the womenfolk go to the Press, especially on Saturdays. Let there be a real effort in that direction. I hope to place the London correspondence on a very strong footing before I come away.

Yours sincerely,

C. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
Indian Opinion
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4402

21. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I beg to report that Sir Lepel Griffin has declined to lead the deputation that is to introduce the Indian Deputation from South Africa. I waited on Sir William and Mr. Naoroji this morning with the news. When I received an answer in the negative from Sir Lepel, not knowing all the local circumstances, I immediately telegraphed to Sir George Birdwood,[2] thinking he being a neutral man would be the next best person, asking him whether he would join the deputation and be the spokesman. He telegraphed saying he would if Sir Muncherji agreed. Sir William thought that I had done a rash act in asking Sir George Birdwood to be the spokesman, as the proposition might not be acceptable to the other members of the deputation. I realized my mistake too late. Sir William and Mr. Naoroji think that Sir Muncherji, who has been uniformly and zealously working in connection with the matter of the British Indians in South Africa, should be asked to be the spokesman, but they suggested that I was to secure your permission before I

[1] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 17-20.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Sir George Birdwood", pp. 10-1.

moved further. I, therefore, went to the House of Commons to see you, but a constable informed me that you were not in the House. I now write this asking you kindly to wire me whether you approve of the proposal that Sir Muncherji should be the spokesman.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4403

22. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
October 26, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

I see Mr. Ally has had a relapse last night. I write this just to ask you please to see Mr. Ally every day. Expense is of no consideration. Please, therefore, do not let that hinder you from seeing him every day. Your presence alone would be inspiring and cheering. I am most anxious to have him, if only during the day time, to work here and see people. It is necessary for him to do so.

I had a delicious supper last night at the place. I hope to be able to pay a visit in the day time and inspect all your arrangements and the Hospital grounds. I want to write about my sorrows[1] also, but I am too late to do so tonight.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD[2]
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4404

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. J. Oldfield", pp. 33-4.

[2] Editor, *The Vegetarian*, and President of the Vegetarian Society, London. Gandhiji met him for the first time while a student in England.

23. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
October 26, 1906

MY DEAR RITCH,

I see you called at the Hotel today while I was in. I asked the waiter to bring you up, but evidently you came in only to leave your card, as he did not find you. I notice, too, you saw George Godfrey, and learning from him he was looking for offices, you did not go. I, however, wanted you to make independent enquiries. We want to manage it as cheaply as possible. However, when you get the time, please go out. I see, after all, that tomorrow I shall not be able to attend the confirmation ceremony. If I can, I shall certainly come in, but I have a letter from Sir George Birdwood asking me if Sir Muncherji is agreeable to see him at the latter's house in the afternoon. It is quite possible that I may be able, after I leave Sir Muncherji, to go over. If I can, I will do so. You need not wait for me, however. If I drop in, I shall have something to eat at your place, but if I do drop in, it is not likely to be before 7 or 8 o'clock. You need not expect me at all after 8. If Sir Muncherji does not wire an engagement in the morning, of course, I come down to your place. I am at the Hotel tomorrow at least up to 10.30, because I have given an appointment to Reuter's man[1] up to that time.

Yours sincerely,

L. W. RITCH, ESQ.
41, SPRINGFIELD ROAD
ST. JOHN'S WOOD, N.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4405

[1] G. J. Adam; *vide* "Interview to Reuter", pp. 31-2.

24. LETTER TO PROFESSOR PARMANAND

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

DEAR PROFESSOR PARMANAND,

I had a chat with Ratnam[1] when he was here with my luggage. Ever since that I have been thinking of him during spare moments. To me every one from South Africa is a valuable asset and to be converted into a still more valuable asset by proper nursing. I think that, even from a material standpoint, Ratnam's life is being very much wasted. His preliminary education being very poor, he will find it hard to battle in his profession; more so in South Africa where he will have to live down a great deal of prejudice. I know of no practitioner in South Africa with so little equipment as he will have at the time he is finished.

It is not enough that he will know English perhaps fairly well; he must have, in my opinion, a good grounding in mathematics. The leader of the South African Bar considers that a knowledge of French, Latin and Dutch (especially Latin) is almost indispensable for success at the Bar. Some scientific training also is necessary; otherwise Ratnam will find himself very greatly handicapped when his opponents make use of scientific expressions, or the Court does so. Also, if ever he is going to dedicate his knowledge of law to the good of his country and does not wish to use it commercially, he must have a knowledge of some technical art as a means of living. He is young enough to do all these things. Above all, he must have discipline, even severe discipline. I, therefore, suggested to him that he should attend a school here and go through a regular matriculation course, and even if a pass is beyond him, the same grounding at the school will do him good. As you are looking after him, I thought I should tell you what I have already told him. He said he would consult you and let me know.

Yours sincerely,

PROFESSOR PARMANAND
65, CROMWELL AVENUE
HIGHGATE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4407

[1] Ruthnam Pather, who was studying for the Bar

25. LETTER TO H. O. ALLY

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

DEAR MR. ALLY,

I have just heard through the telephone that you passed a very bad night. I am exceedingly sorry and I wonder what the cause of it could be. I am superstitious enough to say it was due to the cigar. As a matter of fact, I told George[1], as we were walking, that, while the progress was imminent, it might be retarded by even one puff of the deadly cigar—such is my strong conviction regarding nicotine. I have seen much suffering from it. However, I may be mistaken. If so, please pardon. All I want is to find you hale and hearty. I was delighted to see you chatting away so hilariously last night. I was, therefore, very much pained to hear through the nurse that you had passed a bad night.

I shall send George as soon as he comes. I have given the nurse a message for you to which I may receive a reply later on, but I put it down in writing also. I might have mentioned it there but I forgot.

I have been discussing with Sir Muncherji and Sir William Wedderburn the advisability of establishing a permanent committee for British Indians in South Africa. Perhaps you recollect that you made the suggestion long ago. I think that our work could be usefully continued if such a permanent committee composed of people representing all shades of opinion is established, say, for one or two years. I am, therefore, most anxious that such a committee be formed. We could then perhaps afford a second deputation.

I have written to Mr. Polak about it and asked him to reply, yes or no.[2]

Will you kindly let me know your opinion on the matter and, if you agree with me, please write this evening confirming my opinion.

Yours sincerely,

HAJEE OJER ALLY, ESQ.
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4408

[1] George Godfrey

[2] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 17-20.

26. *LETTER TO YUK LIN LEW*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 26, 1906

DEAR MR. LEW,

You promised to send me a representation addressed by the Chinese community to the Chinese Ambassador (or is it Minister?), so as to enable me to draft the letter you want me to.

I am quite ready to draft the representation[1] as soon as I get the Chinese petition, but you will recognize that it is necessary for me to have it, if only for the date and description.

Yours truly,

YUK LIN LEW, ESQ.
CHINESE LEGATION
PORTLAND PLACE, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4409

27. *THE DEPUTATION'S VOYAGE—IV*

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 26, 1906

I have already given an account of our voyage up to the time we were about to reach Madeira.

MADEIRA

We reached Madeira on the morning of Tuesday, October 16. Generally all passengers land at Madeira and go for a stroll, and we too went ashore. This island is very beautiful. Situated upon a hill, Madeira is inhabited, tier upon tier up to a height of 2,500 feet. There is greenery all round, with hardly an uncultivated patch. All over the island the paths are paved, and no wheeled carriages are used, only sledgelike barrows, drawn along the way. These barrows go down the slopes at great speed but without the least danger. The barrow is so light that a man can carry it on his head. The island is in the possession of the Portuguese and is inhabited entirely by them. No Indian was to be seen. The view of the island is lovely and charming.

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji but is not available.

ARRIVAL IN LONDON

On the morning of the 20th, we reached Southampton Docks where we were met by Mr. West and his sister. From here one has to take a train [to London]. A reporter of *The Tribune*, a well-known paper, came to see us on board the steamer. We told him all the facts. He published the whole account in his paper on Monday. The train reached Waterloo Station at 12.30. Messrs Ritch, Godfrey and Joseph Royeppen met us at the station and Mr. Henry Polak's father had also come there with a reporter of *The Morning Leader*. We gave him the story. The report[1] published by *The Morning Leader* on Monday was much better than that[2] in *The Tribune*. Thus, our work began even before we reached London. We went to India House, as Mr. Ritch had made arrangements for our stay there. There is not enough space this time for an account of India House. I propose to give one the next time.[3] We ate our meal and left forthwith for the meeting of the London Indian Society, where we had the good fortune of meeting Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. He welcomed us, and a visit to him again on Monday was fixed. We spent the whole of Sunday meeting Indian youths and Mr. Polak and at night met Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma.[4] Our conversation went on till one in the morning.

MONDAY TO FRIDAY

I do not get a moment's leisure here. As I write this it is 11 p.m. We have had interviews with Sir Muncherji, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Cotton[5], Mr. Hall, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Arathoon,[6] Mr. Scott and other gentlemen. Our idea is to have men of different parties here to accompany and introduce us to Lord Elgin to plead for us and to give us their full support. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and Sir George Birdwood are already with us. Very probably the interview will take place next week. We have informed Lord Elgin of our arrival and his acknowledgement too has been received.

"THE TIMES" CORRESPONDENT

The Times correspondent in the Transvaal, as if by previous arrangement, cabled just on Monday to his paper saying that many Indians had entered the Colony. If they continued to enter in this way, the whites

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Morning Leader*", pp. 2-3.
[2] *Vide* "Interview to *The Tribune*", pp. 1-2.
[3] *Vide* "The Deputation's Voyage—V", pp. 83-7.
[4] Gandhiji had several talks with him; *ibid.*
[5] H.E.A.Cotton, Editor, *India*
[6] Editor, *Asia Quarterly Review* and Honorary Secretary of East India Association; elsewhere letters are addressed to or mention is made of C.W. Arathoon, W.H. Arathoon and W. Arathoon—presumably the same person.

would have to leave bag and baggage. As the new act gave the Indians the right to hold land and other rights, it was hoped that Lord Elgin would give his assent to it. If he did not, the whites would be very much offended. Again, the correspondent hoped that Sir Richard Solomon would fully champion the cause of the whites in regard to the act. Moreover, he added, Mr. Gandhi, a member of the Deputation, was a clever lawyer, who was responsible for the entry of Indians into the Transvaal and who had made much money thereby. Such a cablegram was despatched from there to throw dust into the eyes of people here. The same day, we sent *The Times* a reply[1] from which important paragraphs were published on Thursday. The whole reply was published in *India* on Friday. In our reply we had said that, even if any Indians entered without permits, their number was very small, that the Government had even now the authority to expel them and that the new law was oppressive. No Indian wants that the whole of India should migrate to South Africa. Nor does anyone wish that the whites should be deprived of all their trade. In proof of our *bona fides* we are prepared to accept laws on the lines of those at the Cape or Natal, but we must have equal rights [with the whites] to hold land, etc.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-12-1906

28. DEEDS BETTER THAN WORDS[2]

[*October 26, 1906*]

Two things are now being widely discussed in England. One relates to the decision of the soap manufacturers who, like their American opposite numbers, have combined and resolved to increase the price of soap. The dealers in soap and the public naturally did not relish the decision. But they did not approach the Government for help; neither did they appeal to the manufacturers; but they resorted to direct action. They notified the manufacturers that they would not buy their soap even if it meant a great loss to them. The result was that Lever Brothers, of Sunlight Soap fame, who used till now to have fifteen ounces of soap in their one-pound cake, will henceforth give the full sixteen. The lesson from this is that deeds are better than words. The action of the dealers proved more fruitful than mere words.

The second example illustrating this saying is more remarkable. It is the movement in England for women's right to vote, which the Govern-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times*", pp. 4-6.

[2] This article was promised to Polak in Gandhiji's letter to him; *vide* pp. 17-20.

ment is unwilling to concede. The women therefore go to the House of Commons and harass the Members. They have sent petitions, written letters, delivered speeches and tried many other means. Last Wednesday, they went to the House of Commons as soon as it opened and demanded the right to vote; they caused some damage also, for which they were prosecuted and sentenced to furnish a security of £5 each. On their refusing to do so, they were sentenced to imprisonment, and they are now in gaol. Most of the women have got three months. All of them come from respectable families and some are very well educated. One of these is the daughter of the late Mr. Cobden who was highly respected by the people. She is serving her term in gaol. Another is the wife of Mr. Lawrence. A third is an LL.B. On the very day these women went to gaol there was a huge meeting here in support of the resolve adopted by the brave ladies, and a sum of £650 was collected on the spot. Mr. Lawrence announced that he would pay £10 a day as long as his wife was in gaol. Some persons regard these women as insane; the police use force against them; the magistrate looks upon them with a stern eye. Cobden's brave daughter said, "I shall never obey any law in the making of which I have no hand; I will not accept the authority of the court executing those laws; if you send me to gaol, I will go there, but I shall on no account pay a fine. I will not furnish any security either." It is no wonder that a people which produces such daughters and mothers should hold the sceptre. Today the whole country is laughing at them, and they have only a few people on their side. But undaunted, these women work on steadfast in their cause. They are bound to succeed and gain the franchise, for the simple reason that deeds are better than words. Even those who laughed at them would be left wondering. If even women display such courage, will the Transvaal Indians fail in their duty and be afraid of gaol? Or would they rather consider the gaol a palace and readily go there? When that time comes, India's bonds will snap of themselves.

We have sent petitions; made speeches; and we shall continue to do so. But we shall gain our object only if we have the kind of strength we have spoken of. People do not have much faith in articles and speeches. Anyone can do that, they call for no courage. Deeds after all are better than words. All other things are unavailing, and no one is afraid of them. The only way therefore is to sacrifice oneself and take the plunge. We have much to do yet, no doubt of that.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 24-11-1906

29. *DRAFT LETTER TO LORD ELGIN*[1]

196, CROMWELL ROAD,
LONDON, S. W.,
October 27, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

DEAR LORD ELGIN,

Sir George Birdwood, Mr. Naoroji, Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Ameer Ali and a few others, including myself, have been approached by the Indian Deputation that has arrived from the Transvaal. The Indian Delegates have asked us to lead the Deputation as most of us have always taken an interest in the question affecting British Indians in South Africa.

I have been asked to become spokesman by those who have consented to take part in the deputation, and as I have studied the question perhaps more thoroughly than the others, I have accepted the position.

May I then, on behalf of the Committee, ask you to appoint a time for receiving the Delegates from the Transvaal, accompanied by the Committee.

I am,
Yours truly,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft S. N. 4410

30. *INTERVIEW TO REUTER*[2]

[*October 27, 1906*][2]

Mr. Gandhi, speaking to Reuter's representative, said:

We have come to protest against the new Transvaal Asiatic Ordinance, which is humiliating for the British Indians, all of whom will have to carry a pass bearing thumb-prints and other marks of identification. The object of the new Ordinance is to prevent unauthorized Indians

[1] This draft letter, found among Gandhiji's papers, was clearly intended to be signed by Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree whose address it bears at the top. It was not sent as Sir Lepel Griffin did eventually agree to lead the deputation. *Vide* also "Telegram to Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree", p. 10.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. J. Adam", p. 17 and the following item.

from entering the Transvaal. We hope to convince the Imperial Government that this is effectually done by the existing Permit Ordinance[1], which is very strictly applied.

The Times, 29-10-1906

31. LETTER TO H. O. ALLY

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 27, 1906

DEAR MR. ALLY,

George has seen me after his interview with you, and also Dr. Oldfield. I am delighted that what I feared was a relapse was, after all, a blessing in disguise. I am delighted also that, when he saw you, you were looking hale and hearty. When I think of it, I do feel that our stay here would have been incomplete without George. Who [else] would have been the link between us?[2] The idea you have suggested about a gathering has been uppermost in my mind. As you may imagine, I have not been at all idle. I have been seeing people here and there. A suggestion has already been made that there should be a meeting in the House of Commons[3] which should be addressed by both of us. I do want you to be present at these gatherings, unless adverse circumstances prevent it. I would not think of addressing these gatherings without you. I know full well the value of your presence as also of your speech. The interview with Lord Elgin is not likely to come off before the week after next, that is to say, not for the next 8 or 9 days. I have just returned from a visit to Sir Muncherji and Sir George Birdwood. The latter paid a friendly call at the Hotel and enquired about you. I am only sorry that you are not with me during these visits; you would have seen a great deal of the public men here, and obtained an insight into the working of British institutions. However, I believe sufficiently in predestination, and I, therefore, take comfort in the thought that even in your absence from these meetings there may be some good lurking. It may be that, when you suddenly appear to address a gathering, you would lend a charm to it which would not have been possible if you had seen the members individually, but whenever there is a public function, even though it may be inconvenient, you shall always attend. There

[1] Peace Preservation Ordinance
[2] The original has, "George, who would have been...".
[3] *Vide* "Meeting at House of Commons", p. 105.

are likely to be two such gatherings. Mr. Polak is trying to have a gathering by an educational society. I beseech you to keep yourself religiously away from cigars. Certainly, have as much as you like of the hubble-bubble. Follow Dr. Oldfield's instructions implicitly. I am certain that no other doctor could restore you to health with the same amount of despatch as Dr. Oldfield. I feel, therefore, that you are in the safest hands. I sent you a budget of letters today, and a copy of *Indian Opinion*. *South Africa* has certainly given the very best interview[1] possible, and you will see how the Editor has veered round to a moderate expression in his editorial columns. You might not have seen his violent articles 3 or 4 weeks ago. The editorial this morning was, therefore, quite refreshing reading. Please command me if you want anything more, and do not hesitate to send any suggestions you wish to send.

I did not ring off this morning after you told me you were well. It was the silly girl at the exchange who did it. I then tried to have the connection restored, but failed, and then gave it up, because I wanted to be ready to meet Reuter's agent. I had a long chat with him at the Hotel. He saw immediately that the Ordinance was practically useless and tyrannical. These are, of course, mere words, but who knows, they may do good in the end.

Yours sincerely,

H. O. ALLY, ESQ.
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4411

32. *LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD*

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 27, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

I told you that I wanted to write to you about my sorrows.[2] I think I mentioned that, when I was in Bombay, I had lost my sense of smell; as the doctor put it, I am supposed to be suffering from chronic[3] *ozæna*. I have chronic catarrh. Of course, I do not know whether

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", pp. 7-10.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. J. Oldfield", p. 23.
[3] The original has "*chronis*".

you have made a speciality of throat diseases. If not, and you think it is worth while, you can put me on to a specialist again. I think it was when I was carrying on a fruit-and-nut diet experiment that I damaged my teeth. I believed that I had permanently damaged two molars and I thought that I was going to lose one of them on board. I certainly tried hard to pull one out but I did not succeed. Would you see them or do you want me to go to a dentist? If so, please give me a reliable name.

Friends though we are, if you are going to attend to either of the two complaints, you must do so professionally if only because whatever you receive, I know, goes to a humanitarian purpose.

If you will see me professionally, kindly give me an appointment, but you may name more than one time, so that I can make my selection. I have to interview so many people that it is not possible for me to make definite appointments. Mr. Ally telephoned to me saying he is much better today. I was delighted to hear it. I hope you will soon put him right.

Yours sincerely,

DR. OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4412

33. LETTER TO J. C. MUKERJI

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 27, 1906

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

I forgot to tell you one thing, and I thought of it only as I was looking through *The Times* for *Indian Opinion*. I see that there is always enough matter in *The Times* to be sent for *Indian Opinion*. Although you may send your correspondence on Friday nights, I think you should send from *The Times* the latest news and Parliamentary reports on Saturdays and post them, if necessary, up to the last moment at the General Post Office. That is the only way, I think, you will be able to make your correspondence effective and up to date. While Parliament is sitting, I now notice that you can send a great deal from *The Times* on the Indian and cognate questions, as for instance, the Natives, the Chinese, etc. *The Times* evidently gives a very full report. You are then in advance of *India*, and you keep up with the South African papers, which, as I have

told you, are thoroughly up to date. I reduce this suggestion to writing now lest I may forget it.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. MUKERJI, ESQ.
65, CROMWELL AVENUE
HIGHGATE, N.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4413

34. LETTER TO F. MACKARNESS

·[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 27, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 25th instant. I have placed this suggestion before Sir William Wedderburn and he agrees that there should be a meeting like the one mentioned by you. I venture to think that, unless local circumstances prevent it, it need not necessarily be a meeting of Liberal Members only, as there is no division of opinion on the question of the treatment of British Indians in South Africa.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

F. MACKARNESS, ESQ., M.P.
6, CROWN OFFICE ROW
TEMPLE

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4414

35. LETTER TO S. KRISHNAVARMA

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 29, 1906

DEAR PANDIT SHYAMJI KRISHNAVARMA,

I enclose herewith stamps for 1s 6d which you were good enough to advance last evening.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

PANDIT SHYAMJI KRISHNAVARMA
9, QUEEN'S WOOD AVENUE
HIGHGATE

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4415

36. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
October 29, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 26th instant in continuation of my letter[1] of the 25th. I beg now to state that Sir Muncherji M. Bhownaggree, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Henry Cotton, the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. Ameer Ali, among others, have consented to lead the British Indian Deputation from the Transvaal. A few more friends are also likely to join the deputation committee. May I now request His Lordship to fix a date, if possible some time early *next week*, for receiving the deputation so that I may inform the gentlemen above named and others who may wish to take part in the deputation.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: C. O. 291, Vol. 113/Ind.; also a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4416

37. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 29th instant. I am sorry that I received it after the time I could have spoken to you through the telephone, and as a matter of fact between 10 and 10.45 today I was out visiting. If it is at all possible for you to favour me with a call tomorrow or on Thursday between 1 and 2, we may perhaps lunch together and talk over

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 15-6.

the question of British Indians in South Africa. If you cannot do that, I must defer the pleasure of seeing you till Thursday at the time of the N.I.A.[1] reception for which you have so kindly sent me a card. If you can however conveniently lunch with me either tomorrow or the day after, please drop me a line.

I am sorry Mr. Ally, my co-Delegate, is laid up in bed with rheumatism, and is at present undergoing treatment at the Lady Margaret Hospital in Bromley.

I regret I have not any photographs with me throwing light on the question, nor have I a photograph of myself. Mr. Ally's I think I could let you have. It is in his family group.

I am inclined to think that we have met before, and that was when, I believe, you used to advise young Indians coming to London. I believe I was introduced to you by Mr. D. B. Shukla.

I am,
Yours truly,

F. H. Brown, Esq.
"Dilkusha"
Westbourne Road
Forest Hill, S.E.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4417

38. LETTER TO J. C. MUKERJI

[Hotel Cecil,
London,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

I apologize for not keeping the appointment, but as you know every appointment outside the work that has brought me here is subservient to that work. As it was quite beyond my expectation, I had to be busy with Sir Muncherji up to six o'clock in the evening. Do you mind taking the same appointment for tomorrow, but this time let it be 6 o'clock. I shall endeavour to keep the appointment. We will then go to a restaurant, take a meal, and come back to the Hotel. I have cancelled all evening appointments also, so that I can cope with the arrears of dictating work, but we will discuss Rutnam for about half an hour, though most of the discussion will perhaps have been finished at the dinner table. Please however do not go away, even if I am not in, because I am bound to be at the Hotel for my meal sooner or later. So far as I know at present, I should not be engaged beyond 6 o'clock

[1] National Indian Association

tomorrow evening. Please convey my apologies to the Professor[1] also. My invitation extends to you and the Professor, as also to Rutnam, if you consider his presence to be necessary.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. MUKERJI, ESQ.
65, CROMWELL AVENUE
HIGHGATE, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4418

39. LETTER TO J. ROYEPPEN

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

MY DEAR JOSEPH,

I must cancel the appointment for the evening I have given you, because I shall now be exceedingly busy, and it is only in the evenings that I am in a position to dictate anything. I shall write to you if I have a free evening.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN, ESQ.
36, STAPLETON HALL ROAD
STROUD GREEN, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4419

40. LETTER TO M. N. DOCTOR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR MR. DOCTOR,

I find that I am so very busy that I must cancel the appointment given you; but if you can come on Sunday at 12 o'clock, we can walk together and talk on my way to Mr. Polak's, with whom I have an engagement. If you know London well, we will then separate somewhere near Highbury.

Yours sincerely,

M. N. DOCTOR, ESQ.
102, WHARTON ROAD, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4420

[1] Parmanand

41. LETTER TO LORD REAY

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 30, 1906

MY LORD,

I ventured to call on Your Lordship yesterday, without appointment, with a view to paying my respects and placing before Your Lordship the position of British Indians in the Transvaal. Together with Mr. Hajee Ojer Ally, I have arrived from the Transvaal as a Deputation appointed to wait on Lord Elgin and Mr. Morley in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance recently passed by the Transvaal Legislative Council. Sir Charles Dilke[1], Mr. Naoroji, Sir Muncherji, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Ameer Ali, and a few other gentlemen who have taken an interest in British Indian matters in the Transvaal have kindly consented to introduce the Deputation to Lord Elgin and thus extend to our mission the weight of their influence. An appointment will probably be given by Lord Elgin for next week. May I know whether you will be pleased to join the introducing deputation. In any case, both Mr. Ally and I will be greatly obliged if Your Lordship will allow us the opportunity of placing before you the position of British Indians in the Transvaal.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's humble servant,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD REAY[2]
6, GREAT STANHOPE STREET
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4423

[1] Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, (1843-1911); politician, writer and Member of Parliament, he became Under-Secretary of State in the Foreign Office in 1876.

[2] Donald James Mackay, (1839-1921); Governor of Bombay Presidency, 1885-90, and first President of British Academy; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1894-5

42. *LETTER TO H. O. ALLY*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR MR. ALLY,

I have your note, as also your telephone message, but have only just settled down to work, i.e., 12 midnight. I have been away the whole day from 10.30 a.m. I looked in just at lunch time and at 8 o'clock at night, when I found the message from you, as also your letter. I shall find out the address of the Turkish Ambassador. I shall take some late train tomorrow unless I find it impossible.

Lord Elgin has appointed Thursday the 8th November at 3 o'clock to receive the Deputation, so you will see that there is ample time. My work, however, is entirely cut out for all that time. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

HAJEE OJER ALLY, ESQ.
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4421

43. *LETTER TO J. H. POLAK*

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 30, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I told you that I should pass the whole of Sunday with you, but I see that I shall have to attend to an important matter in the evening. The Pandit[1] of whom I spoke to you and I have not yet finished the whole of our discussion, and as it is rather important I am afraid that I must deprive myself of the pleasure, I was looking forward to, of passing the whole of next Sunday with you. I fear therefore that I

[1] Shyamji Krishnavarma

will have to leave you next Sunday also at about 4 o'clock.

My regards to all.

Yours truly,

J. H. POLAK, ESQ.
28, GROSVENOR ROAD
CANONBURY

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4422

44. LETTER TO W. P. BYLES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your note of the 28th instant. I shall have much pleasure in sending you my card at the House of Commons some time this week, and I hope probably today.

Yours faithfully,

W. P. BYLES, ESQ., M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4424

45. LETTER TO A. MERCER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for giving me Mrs. Spencer Walton's address, and the enclosure.

Yours truly,

ARTHUR MERCER, ESQ.
17, HOMEFIELD ROAD
WIMBLEDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4425

46. LETTER TO MRS. S. WALTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

DEAR MRS. SPENCER WALTON,

I was exceedingly sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Spencer Walton. His death is an irreparable loss to you but I have no doubt that many feel poorer by his death. I was hoping to be able to pay you a visit during my stay here, but I find that I shall be so much occupied during the three or four weeks I am here that I may not be able to take a run down. However, I shall be obliged if you will drop me a line telling me when you are as a rule to be found at home.

I am,
Yours truly,

MRS. SPENCER WALTON
ANDREW HOUSE
TONBRIDGE
KENT

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4426

47. DRAFT LETTER TO LORD ELGIN[1]

22, KENNINGTON ROAD,
[LONDON,]
October 30, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

MY LORD,

I enclose herewith copy of a Petition from the British Indian Association of the Transvaal regarding the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance of 1906 passed by the Legislative Council of the Transvaal.[2] I understand from the Acting Honorary Secretary[3] of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal that the Petition was forwarded through

[1] This letter was presumably drafted by Gandhiji, as an earlier draft bears some instructions to the secretary in Gandhiji's hand. The draft also clearly indicates that it was to be signed by Dadabhai Naoroji.

[2] *Vide* "Petition to Lord Elgin", Vol. V, pp.463-5.

[3] H. S. L. Polak

Lord Selborne to you the same week that a copy was sent to me, and that a cablegram[1] too was sent through the Governor by the British Indian Association requesting that the Ordinance might not be sanctioned until the Petition was in your hands.

I venture to think that the Association has a very strong and just case. It is quite plain that this Ordinance, if sanctioned, will prevent British Indians even from holding leases of landed property, which they have hitherto been allowed to hold under Law 3 of 1885. Thus then, on the eve of the Colony receiving Responsible Government, it would appear that the present Ordinance, instead of at least maintaining the *status quo*, will render the position of British Indians worse in respect of holding land, as it has been in other respects, than before the war. I trust, therefore, that you will see your way to advise His Majesty to disallow the Ordinance.

In view of the arrival of the British Indian Deputation from the Transvaal and their mission, coupled with the fact of the passing of the Ordinance which is the subject matter of this communication, I think that a commission of enquiry such as was suggested by Sir Muncherji to your predecessor, which commission I understand was all but appointed, is very necessary for the protection of British Indians in the Transvaal.

I am, my Lord,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 4427/2

48. CIRCULAR LETTER[2]

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
October 31, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I beg to inform you that Lord Elgin has appointed Thursday the 8th November at 3 p.m. to receive the Transvaal Indian Deputation at the Colonial Office. Mr. Ally and I trust that you will be kind enough to make it convenient to attend at the Colonial Office at 2.30 p.m. on Thursday the 8th November so that there may be a short conference between the members of the introducing deputation. Sir Lepel Griffin

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 463.

[2] The noting on the office copy shows that this letter was sent to Sir Charles Dilke, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Sir Henry Cotton, Ameer Ali and Sir George Birdwood.

has now consented to head the deputation and to introduce Mr. Ally and me.

I hope shortly to be able to let you have a copy of the Representation[1] to be submitted to Lord Elgin previous to the reception of the deputation, which will form the basis for the deputation to work upon.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the signed typewritten office copy: S. N. 4429

49. *LETTER TO PROFESSOR PARMANAND*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

DEAR PROFESSOR PARMANAND,

I am sorry you cannot be here today. Pillay's case is very sad. I do not know what should be done, but when we meet we shall have to think it out. He seems to have difficulty in finding even his food. Will you go into his case thoroughly and if necessary find him lodgings at India House?

Yours sincerely,

PROFESSOR PARMANAND
65, CROMWELL AVENUE
HIGHGATE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4430

50. *LETTER TO LORD STANLEY*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY[2]
18, MANSFIELD STREET

MY LORD,

I am obliged for the appointment given by you. I shall avail myself of it at 10 a.m. tomorrow (Thursday).

I remain,
Your humble servant,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4431

[1] "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 45-54
[2] (1839-1925); educationist and Member of Parliament

51. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter. I shall await you at 3 o'clock tomorrow, and then after having a chat together I shall avail myself of your kind offer to take me to the reception.[1]

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.
"DILKUSHA"
WESTBOURNE ROAD
FOREST HILL, S.E.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4432

52. REPRESENTATION TO LORD ELGIN[2]

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 31, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

MY LORD,

APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES

1. We, the undersigned, have been appointed by the British Indian Association of the Transvaal to lay before you the views of the Indian community of the Transvaal regarding the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal Legislative Council published in the Transvaal *Government Gazette* dated the 28th day of September, 1906. At a mass meeting of British Indians, numbering nearly 3,000 British Indian

[1] *Vide* "Letter to F. H. Brown", pp. 36-7.

[2] This was drawn up by Gandhiji on or before October 31 and forwarded with the "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 65.

residents of the Transvaal, held at the old Empire Theatre in Johannesburg on the 11th day of September, 1906, it was among other things resolved to send a Deputation to attend on Your Lordship. The selection of the delegates was left to the Committee of the Association and, as said before,[1] we were selected by the Committee.

Who Are the Delegates?

2. The first undersigned is the Honorary Secretary of the Association, was one of the organizers of the Natal Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps formed at the time of the Boer War, and was the organizer and in charge of the Indian Stretcher-Bearer Corps formed under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress in connection with the recent Native rebellion of Natal. He is a Barrister of the Inner Temple and has since 1903 practised as a solicitor in Johannesburg.

3. The second undersigned is a merchant by profession, and besides being a member of the British Indian Association, is the founder and Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society of Johannesburg.

4. Both the undersigned are old settlers of South Africa; the first undersigned settled in South Africa in 1893 and is father of four children, all of whom are in South Africa. The second undersigned has settled in South Africa for the last twenty-three years and is the father of eleven children all born in South Africa.

Indian Population of the Transvaal

5. The present Indian population of the Transvaal is about 13,000 according to permit returns, and over 10,000 according to census returns, as against a white population of over 280,000. The Indians of the Transvaal are merchants, traders, their assistants, hawkers and domestic servants—the great majority being merchants or hawkers.

Law 3 of 1885

6. Law 3 [of] 1885 as amended in 1886 is applicable to Asiatics, including "coolies, Malays, Arabs, and Mahomedan subjects of the Turkish Empire", and as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal,

(1) confines as to residence those who come under it to locations or streets set specially apart for them, for a breach of which provision there is no sanction provided in the law and which is therefore nugatory in effect,
(2) deprives them of burgher rights,
(3) deprives them of right of ownership of fixed property except in locations and streets before referred to,
(4) and requires those who may settle in the Transvaal for purposes of trade or otherwise to pay a fee of £3 and be registered within eight days of

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 15-6.

their arrival. (*The Law as interpreted by the courts does not require registration of children of such settlers, their wives and those who are not traders.*)

7. The above Law is not restrictive of immigration but it is meant to penalize traders to the extent of £3. During the Boer regime it formed the subject of representations by the British Government and was therefore never then strictly enforced. For its administration there was no separate department of the State, and *registration merely consisted in passing to the payer a receipt for £3.*

Under the British Regime

8. After the advent of British rule, contrary to promises and expectations, separate Asiatic Offices were established. The Peace Preservation Ordinance, which was admittedly a measure calculated to safeguard the State from dangerous characters, was misapplied to restrict Indian immigration, and under it permits were only granted to British Indians on the recommendation of the officers in charge. This practice gave rise to much abuse and corruption. These officers accepted bribes on a wholesale system, and Indian refugees who had a right to immediate return to the Transvaal had difficulty in doing so, and were often obliged to pay as much as £30. This was brought to the notice of the local Government more than once by the British Indian Association, with the result ultimately that two officials were criminally tried, and although the jury discharged them for want of evidence, they were dismissed from Government service. The Asiatic Offices were then abolished and the granting of permits was transferred, as it should have been, to the Chief Secretary for Permits.[1] Though under this regime permits to British Indians were granted only sparingly and after a great deal of delay and searching examination, there was no corruption. In the meanwhile an official was appointed under the designation of Protector of Asiatics in the Colonial Department.

Indians Registered

9. While the Permit Department was under the Chief Secretary for Permits, Lord Milner thought fit to enforce Law 3 of 1885 rigorously, and appointed the Permit Secretary to be Registrar of Asiatics. The British Indian Association respectfully protested against the step,[2] but although it was not obligatory on the British Indians who had paid £3 to the Boer Government to re-register, on the urgent advice of Lord Milner they allowed themselves to be re-registered. These certificates contain names of holders, their wives, number of children, the age of the holders, their distinctive marks and thumb-prints.

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 145.
[2] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 301-8.

10. The following was the assurance given by Lord Milner at the time the advice was offered:

> I think that registration is a protection to them. To that registration there is attached a £3 tax. It is only asked for once. Those who have paid it to the old Government have only to prove that they have done so and they have not to pay it again. Again, once on the register, their position is established and *no further registration is necessary*, nor is a fresh permit required. That registration gives you a right to be here and a right to come and go.[1]

11. At the present day, save women and children, almost every Indian in the Transvaal is in possession of a permit bearing the holder's name, place of birth, occupation, last address, his signature and as a rule thumb-impression and in most if not all cases, registration certificates above described. If, therefore, there are any Indians in the Transvaal who are without permits and do not fall within the exemption clauses of the Peace Preservation Ordinance, they are unauthorized residents and liable to be expelled under that Ordinance. Those who cannot produce permits have the burden thrown on them of proving that they come within the exemption clauses. If they do not obey expulsion orders, they are liable to suffer imprisonment. The Peace Preservation Ordinance moreover makes it a criminal offence to obtain a permit by fraudulent representations, or to abet one in so obtaining a permit, or to enter on a permit obtained by fraud.

Present Machinery for Detection of Unauthorized Entry Complete

12. Thus the machinery for punishing unauthorized Indian residents in the Transvaal is complete and effective. And by its voluntary act above referred to, the Indian community has furnished the authorities with complete means of identification of a double character. Those Indians who have tried to enter on permits belonging to other Indians have been heavily punished. Many such cases are on record.

13. There would appear therefore to be no occasion for any further measure of law to prevent fraud, or impersonation, or unauthorized entry. Under the present permit regulations, according to the testimony given by an official,

> (1) women, whether they accompany their husbands or not, [and]
> (2) children of whatever age, even infants, whether in company of their parents or not, are required to produce permits. Cases have happened where tender children five years old have been torn away from their parents, and wives from their husbands, although the fathers or the husbands accompanying the children or wives have produced permits.

14. Old residents of the Transvaal who have paid £3 as the price of their residence experience a delay of months before they receive their permits, and that after an investigation which is over-severe in

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 305.

To,
The Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin,
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My Lord,

1. We, the undersigned, have been appointed by the British Indian Association of the Transvaal to lay before you the views of the Indian community of the Transvaal regarding the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal Legislative Council published in the Transvaal Government Gazette dated the 12th day of September 1906. Recently a mass meeting of British Indians, numbering nearly 3,000 British Indian Residents of the Transvaal, was held at the old Empire Theatre in Johannesburg on the 11th day of September 1906 when it was among other things resolved to send a deputation to wait on Your Lordship. The selection of the delegates was left to the Committee of the Association, and we were selected by the Committee.

2. The first undersigned is the Honorary Secretary of the Association, was the organiser of the Natal Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps formed at the time of the Boer War, and was the organiser and in charge of the Indian Stretcher Bearer Corps formed under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress in connection with the recent native rebellion of Natal. He is a Barrister of the Inner Temple and has since 1903 practised as a solicitor in Johannesburg.

3. The second undersigned is a merchant by profession, and besides being a member of the British Indian Association, is the Treasurer and Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society of Johannesburg.

4. Both the undersigned are old settlers of South Africa; the first undersigned settled in South Africa in 1893 and is father of four children, all of whom are in South Africa. The second undersigned has been settled in South Africa for the last twenty-three years and is the father of eleven children all born in South Africa.

5. The present Indian population of the Transvaal is about 13,000, according to

character and carried on secretly, and by boards which sit at their leisure to conduct their examination.

New Ordinance

15. On the top of all these disabilities has come like a thunderbolt upon the Indian community the amending Ordinance. It sets up a humiliating system of passes to be carried by every Indian resident in the Transvaal. It establishes a system of identification which may vary from time to time. The Assistant Colonial Secretary informed a deputation of Indians that the imprints of all the digits should be required and passes containing such imprints should be produced by the holders to every police official who may wish to challenge the Indians. The permits and registration certificates, obtained after a great deal of trouble, are to be surrendered in exchange for the new certificates. We may state that, in order to carry out the above registration, people were dragged from their rooms in the early morning and subjected to much hard treatment.

Its Real Nature

16. The Ordinance in fact is not one for registration but for identification, of a type applied to the worst criminals. So far as we are aware such a law is unknown in any of the British Colonies. It is hardly an amendment of the Law 3 of 1885, because its scope is admittedly totally different from that of the latter.

17. The amending law condemns every permit unless the holder of it can prove it to be not tainted with fraud. It leaves the children of parents, though the latter may be in possession of *bona-fide* permits, to the tender mercy of the officer in charge of its administration. It is class legislation of the worst type. While it is calculated to submit the Indians to intense irritation and humiliation, it gives absolutely nothing.

The So-called Relief

18. For the remission of £3 fee is superfluous, as every adult male Indian and in many cases even children at present resident in the Transvaal have already paid it. According to the statement by the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, no Indians who are not pre-war residents of the Transvaal will be allowed to enter the Colony until the Responsible Government has considered the question of immigration. And as the present Indian residents have already paid the £3, and as the pre-war residents who have still to re-enter have also mostly paid the £3 to the Dutch Government, the remission of the £3 payment is no concession at all.

19. The authority for temporary permits is also not required as they have been granted at the discretion of the authorities under the Peace Preservation Ordinance.

20. The relief as to the supply of liquor is, so far as it may be applicable to Indians, a direct insult.

21. The relief to the heirs of those Indians who may have held fixed property before the date of Law 3 of 1885 is individual in character and is meant only to affect one small piece of land in the Transvaal.

22. The Ordinance therefore is in no way a relief or protection to the Indian community.

COMPARISON

23. We cannot lay too much stress on the fact that the amending Ordinance, while it leaves untouched all the disabilities of Law 3 of 1885, makes the position of British Indians much worse than under Law 3 of 1885, as will appear more clearly from the following comparison :

UNDER LAW 3 OF 1885	UNDER NEW ORDINANCE
1. *Traders only* were required to pay £3 and take out receipts.	All male Indians (they have already paid £3) are now to take out certificates of registration.
2. No particulars of identification had to be furnished.	Most humiliating particulars of identification are to be furnished.
3. Registration was not in restriction of immigration.	This registration is essentially for restricting immigration.
4. Children of registered parents were not required to register.	Children of registered parents must all be registered : (a) Children under eight years to be provisionally registered, and parents to furnish means of identification. (A baby eight days old will have to give ten digit prints and be carried to the registering officer.) (b) Children over eight years must be separately registered, subject to the same requirement as to identification. (c) If the children are not so registered after they attain the age of 16 years, they are liable to expulsion under severe penalty unless they get themselves registered.

(d) Any Asiatic without authority bringing into the Colony a child under 16 years is liable to a severe penalty and cancellation of his registration and to expulsion. (This probably applies to parents bringing their babies in arms and certainly to lawfully resident Asiatics bringing the baby of another resident Asiatic.)

(e) Any Asiatic employing (even ignorantly!) such a child is liable to like penalties.

(f) Failure on the part of parent or guardian to make application under (a) and (b) renders him liable to a fine of £100 or 3 months' imprisonment.

5. Failure to register never carried with it expulsion.

Failure to register carries with it expulsion although the Asiatic in question be in possession of permit and registration, and therefore doubly a lawful resident of the Transvaal, even according to the amending Ordinance. *Thus by a stroke of the pen the present title to residence is to be rendered of no effect and value. In other words, vested interests, hitherto considered so sacred, are to be taken away to satisfy a caprice.*

6. Malays were subject to registration under Law 3 of 1885.

Malays are exempt from the operation of the new Ordinance.

7. Law 3 of 1885 was a law passed by an ignorant Government, and was under promise of total repeal by the British Government.

The present Ordinance has been passed deliberately by an enlightened Government in possession of full knowledge of the history of India and its civilization.

8. Responsible Government could not use Law 3 of 1885 as a precedent for class legislation.

Responsible Government would be perfectly justified in using this Ordinance as a precedent for class legislation.

9. Law 3 of 1885 was passed by a Government in respect of people not its own subjects.	The present Ordinance has been passed by a Government belonging to the same Imperial fold as the Indians.
10. There could be no question of exemption as registration was not humiliating.	The present Ordinance reduces Indians to a lower level than the Kaffirs: (a) because Kaffirs who carry passes do not have to supply humiliating identification particulars contemplated by the Ordinance, (b) Kaffirs having reached a certain status are exempted from liability to carry passes, whereas Indians, no matter what status they may enjoy or how well educated they may be, must be registered and carry passes.

Reasons for the New Ordinance

24. We learn that the reasons for passing the Ordinance are that:
   (a) the local Government wishes to stop the alleged large, unauthorized influx of Indians, against whom there is a great deal of prejudice on the part of the white residents of the Transvaal;
   (b) the local Government believes that there is on the part of the Indian community an organized attempt to flood the country with British Indians without authority.

25. It is not denied that there are Indians who attempt to enter the Transvaal without authority. To meet such cases the present laws are, as shown above, amply sufficient. A large unauthorized influx has been repeatedly denied by the Indians, and never proved. The allegation as to an organized attempt by the community is a pure fabrication.

Local Prejudice

26. The prejudice on the part of many white men, especially of the petty trading class, is admitted. We would at the same time respectfully state that the general body of white people are indifferent. The Indian trader and the hawker—the former relying on the support of wholesale European houses and the latter on the white householders of all descriptions—would not be able to exist in the Transvaal but for such

support. The petition[1] presented on behalf of Indians by Mr. Hosken and other representatives of leading houses bears out this contention.

Remedy for Meeting the Prejudice

27. But recognizing the prejudice, the Indian community has all along accepted the principle of restriction of immigration along the Cape or Natal line, subject to permission to import assistants and servants, and since it is the traders who arouse hostility and jealousy, the community has also accepted the principle of control and regulation of *new* trade licences by municipal bodies, their decisions being subject in gross cases to review by the Supreme Court. These two enactments, if adopted, would dispel all fear of an inordinate influx of Asiatics, or their competition in trade. *But any such legislation should, by repealing Law 3 of 1885, restore to the resident Indian population the right of ownership of fixed property and freedom of movement and locomotion.*

28. Legislation of the above-mentioned type, being applicable to all, would obviate gross abuse of authority, which experience has shown always takes place wherever there is class legislation specially applicable to weaker races. It will moreover continue the policy laid down by Mr. Chamberlain at the Conference of the Colonial Premiers[2] and since re-affirmed by him in practice. It was that policy which dictated a veto of the first Disfranchising Bill of the Natal Legislative Assembly[3] and the Immigration Restriction Draft Bill[4] specially applied to Asiatics and submitted by the late Mr. Harry Escombe[5]. Such non-class legislation can be effectively passed now. It will then place before the incoming Responsible Government the Imperial idea of restrictive legislation and throw on it the burden of showing the necessity for any further restrictions.

29. If, however, such a step be not practicable at present, the whole question should, in the humble opinion of the Deputation, be left over until the newly formed Transvaal legislature under the new constitution has met.

A Commission as an Alternative

30. In the meanwhile, the least that is due to the Indian community is the appointment of a strong and impartial commission to investigate the allegations as to the unauthorized entry of British Indians into the Transvaal, and to report upon the administration of the Peace Preservation Ordinance as affecting British Indians, and also to report upon the adequacy or otherwise of the present laws to meet unlawful entry of

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 296-7.
[2] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 354-6.
[3] *Vide* Vol. I, p. 358; also Vol. II, p. 57.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 282.
[5] (1838-99); Prime Minister of Natal, 1897; *vide* Vol. I, p. 381.

Indians, and generally upon the legislation affecting British Indians. If those who have been making the allegations are sincere, the deliberations of the commission need not take a long time.

BRITISH INDIANS AS APART FROM OTHER ASIATICS

31. The Deputation has been specially directed to secure an insistence on the consideration of the question affecting British Indians as such, instead of their being mixed up with non-British Asiatics. Special promises have been made to British Indians, both in India and outside it, even in connection with the Transvaal laws. It may not be considered too much on the part of the Indians to ask for a proper fulfilment of such promises.

32. Above all, the integrity of the community is at stake. The amending Ordinance is a punitive measure. It has been brought in to meet the alleged organized attempt of the community to introduce into the Transvaal unauthorized Indians. If His Majesty's Government sanctions such a measure, it will be party to a wholesale condemnation of the Indian community, without any proof whatsoever having been publicly brought forward to substantiate such a serious accusation.

We have the honour to remain,
Your Lordship's humble servants,
M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY
MEMBERS OF THE
TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN DEPUTATION

From a photostat of the printed original: C.O. 291, Vol. 113/Ind.; also S.N. 4441a

53. LETTER TO G. GODFREY

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

MY DEAR GEORGE,

Here is your Representation[1]. I believe it will be most effective. I have been thinking over the printing expenses; I think it will be more hallowed if the signatories bore the expenses. I have to render to the Association an account of every penny that is spent, and I hate the idea of even thinking that such a personal appeal has to be paid for. It takes away so much from the reality of the thing. The cost will be

[1] This draft was revised by Gandhiji after discussion with the signatories. For final version, *vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80.

trifling. I can bear it myself; Mr. Ally has offered to bear it; but none of these things will meet the case. You must—five or six of you—divide it amongst you. You will understand the thing: it is the principle I want to inculcate here: it is a matter of very little moment, but you ought to be able to face anybody and say you have borne the expense, because you have felt. The Representation as drawn up by me will not cost more than £2, if that.

There should be no time lost in sending this out. I would like you and the others who will join with you to [go to] the House of Commons yourselves and make a personal canvass in our interests and a personal appeal in distributing the pamphlets, and similarly to go to the different Editors. If they do not receive you it does not matter: they cannot do the cause any harm, and if they do receive you, so much the better.

Yours sincerely,

GEO. GODFREY, ESQ.
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4433

54. LETTER TO H. ROSE MACKENZIE

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 31, 1906

DEAR MR. MACKENZIE,

I am sorry I was away when you called at the Hotel. I thank you for the very good interview published in *S.A.*[1] and for the marked copy sent by you. The whole of my day is passed mostly in interviewing people, and I am never certain when I am here, but it is always possible for me to be at the Hotel between 1 and 2 o'clock. May I ask you to lunch with me tomorrow, if you are free, when we may have a further chat about the question that has brought the Deputation here. I still feel that a great deal can be done by a quiet chat, because there is much misunderstanding as to the Indian position. If you can kindly come, please telephone or wire.

Yours faithfully,

H. ROSE MACKENZIE, ESQ.[2]
WINCHESTER HOUSE, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4435

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", pp. 7-10.
[2] Representative of *South Africa*?

55. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Many thanks for your note. I am so much occupied that I see I must encroach upon my dinner hours and see you at 145, New Kent Road, Elephant and Castle, on Thursday between 6 and 7 p.m. I take it that you are there in any case. If I cannot come then, please do not wait beyond 7 p.m. I shall then try to be at Bromley on Friday some time after 4 p.m. I shall telephone or write if I have to disturb the appointment for Thursday, if I know it earlier.

I am delighted that Mr. Ally is making very good progress.

Yours sincerely,

DR. OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY,
KENT

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4436

56. LETTER TO YUK LIN LEW

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

DEAR MR. LEW,

I had a copy of the Chinese Representation from Mr. James. I see that this is not in accordance with the draft[1] I had prepared. Paragraph 6 of the Petition is open to grave objection. There are other minor points also which might have been left alone. However, I do not consider it necessary to disturb the Representation. I enclose herewith draft of the letter[2] that should be forwarded to H. E. the Chinese Minister.

Yours truly,

Enclosure

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4437

[1] This is not available.
[2] *Vide* "Draft for Chinese Ambassador", pp. 59-60.

57. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 30th instant informing me that Lord Elgin will be pleased to receive the Transvaal Indian Deputation at 3 o'clock on Thursday the 8th November at the Colonial Office, for which I beg on behalf of my co-Delegate Mr. Ally and myself to tender our respectful thanks to His Lordship.

I note the remarks made in the last paragraph of your letter, and I shall see to it that the number does not exceed twelve. As soon as the list is complete I shall have the honour to forward to you the names of those who will be present.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4438

58. *LETTER TO MISS A. PYWELL*[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
October 31, 1906

DEAR MISS PYWELL,

I have your note of the 26th instant. I should be very sorry to have to leave England without having made your acquaintance. Will you kindly tell me whether I am likely to find you any day it may be

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", p. 21.

possible for me to take a run to Leicester. It is just possible that I may be able to put in a day without disturbing my work.

Yours truly,

MISS ADA PYWELL
35, MELBOURNE STREET
LEICESTER

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4439

59. LETTER TO H. O. ALLY

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
October 31, 1906

DEAR MR. ALLY,

I am exceedingly sorry I have not been able to come this evening, but shall try to come tomorrow. When we see each other, I shall describe to you how I have been spending my time. In the meantime I can only tell you that I am working under greater pressure than in Johannesburg. I went to bed last night at 3.30 in the morning.

The Chinese Deputation is being pushed. I am in touch with them. I have forwarded a Representation[1] to be sent in by the Chinese Minister.

As to your coming here every day and returning in the afternoon, we will discuss that when we meet.

I chanced to meet Sir Richard Solomon[2] at the House of Commons tonight and had a brief chat with him. He was very nice about the whole thing. He enquired about you.

I have not yet been able to see Justice Ameer Ali myself, but have been in correspondence with him. Mr. Ameer Ali writes to me saying that he will meet us on the day of the Deputation. Sir Muncherji is strongly of the opinion that there should be a permanent committee.[3] I have, therefore, in order that it may be established while we are here, cabled today for sanction.[4]

I have sent you a 'phone message that I shall probably come to Bromley tomorrow. I am to see Dr. Oldfield between 6 and 7 in the evening and shall probably come along with him.

Yours sincerely,

H. O. ALLY, ESQ.
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4440

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Yuk Lin Lew", p. 56.
[2] Sir Richard was in England at this time; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 467 and 473.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 17-20.
[4] The cable is not available.

60. DRAFT FOR CHINESE AMBASSADOR[1]

[After *October 31, 1906*]

FROM
HIS EXCELLENCY THE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF CHINA
LONDON

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY SIR EDWARD GREY
HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SIR,

I beg to forward herewith a true translation of a Petition received by me from the free Chinese subjects resident in the Transvaal in connection with their grievances in that Colony, and particularly with reference to an Ordinance called "The Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance" numbered 29 and passed by the Legislative Council of that Colony. I granted audience to Mr. L. M. James, the delegate who has been specially deputed by the Chinese subjects aforementioned to present in person the Petition above referred to, and to place before me their case.

It appears to me that, if the statements made in the Petition are correct, and from investigation made by me and from what I have learnt through the Chinese Consul-General for South Africa I have no doubt as to the truth of these statements, the Chinese subjects have a very real grievance.

I am aware that the objectionable features referred to in paragraph 7 of the Petition do not appear in the Ordinance itself, but I am informed that it is the intention of the Transvaal Government to pass regulations requiring finger-impressions and other particulars of identification, which the Petitioners would properly resent. Apart, however, from any such regulations the Ordinance in question undoubtedly appears to be open to very serious objections, and exposes Chinese subjects to unnecessary hardships, inconvenience and degradation.

I invite your attention to the fact that the most amicable relations exist between His Majesty King Edward VII and the Emperor of China, and that British subjects are entitled to the most-favoured-nation treatment throughout the Chinese Empire.

[1] This representation was drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Yuk Lin Lew", p. 27 and "Letter to H. O. Ally", p. 58.

I therefore trust that Your Excellency will deem it fit to secure for the Chinese subjects in the Transvaal proper treatment to which I apprehend, as subjects of an independent nation in alliance with Great Britain, they are entitled.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4441

61. INTERVIEW TO "SOUTH AFRICA"[1]

[LONDON,
November 1, 1906]

In conversation with a representative of *South Africa*, Mr. Advocate Gandhi... stated that the Natal Indian Congress had passed a resolution sympathizing with the objects of the Deputation, similar to the one recently adopted by the British Indians at the Cape.

[GANDHIJI:] While on the subject of Natal, I may mention that I have received a cablegram[2] asking me to place before the authorities here the questions arising out of the Bill to be introduced in the Natal legislature by Mr. Ralph Tatham.

[REPORTER:] What are the main objections to that measure from the Indian point of view?

[GANDHIJI:] Well, the net result of that Bill, supposing it becomes law—which I cannot for a moment conceive—will be to deprive hundreds of Indian traders of their means of livelihood. It will mean the sweeping away of vested rights by a stroke of the pen. In Durban there are only about 250 Indian voters out of a List of 7,000, and in Maritzburg, about 31 out of nearly 3,000, and all those Indian voters are not by any means merchant traders. Some of them are professional men, and at present many of them are not in Natal at all, so that the Bill, if passed into law, will make a clean sweep of the Indian traders both in Durban and Maritzburg. Moreover, the Voters' Roll, so far as Indians are concerned, is now a closed book for any future Indians because of the Franchise Act, which prevents all those who do not come from countries possessing Parliamentary institutions being placed on the Roll.

But the matter of licences is in the hands of the licensing authorities at present?

Yes, that is so, and it makes the reason for bringing in such a Bill as this all the more inconceivable to me. The present Dealers' Licenses

[1] Published in *South Africa*, 3-11-1906 and republished in *Indian Opinion*, 15-12-1906

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 65.

Act of Natal leaves [it] at the discretion of the licensing officers either to grant licenses or to refuse them.

And that discretion, I presume, is used fairly?

On the contrary, the licensing officers have exercised that discretion sometimes in a most high-handed manner, without any relief being obtainable from the Supreme Court.

Can you mention a specific instance, Mr. Gandhi?

Certainly I can. In Vryheid the only Indian merchant, Dada Osman, was deprived of his licence to trade, although he was trading on his own ground, and had been doing so for a long time during the Boer regime.[1] Had Vryheid remained part of the Transvaal, Mr. Dada Osman would have been trading to-day; but as Vryheid has been taken over by Natal, subject to the anti-Asiatic laws of the Transvaal, there are two sets of laws in operation there against Indians, of which the Natal law is the more drastic, so far as the licensing of Indian traders is concerned.

How does that affect Mr. Osman?

The result is that, in virtue of the Transvaal law, he cannot hold landed property in Vryheid; whilst in virtue of the Natal law, he is at the mercy of the licensing officer for his trade. He has therefore been obliged to quit the district altogether.

Is not that an isolated case, resulting from the particular circumstances at Vryheid?

Not so. The licensing officer in Durban refused to transfer the license of a well-known Indian silk merchant from one place of business to another, although the merchant referred to has been in business for a very long time, and his store was in no way in competition with European trade.[2] It seems to me, in fact, that Mr. Tatham's Bill is quite uncalled for, and is really an attempt to drive the Indians out of Natal altogether.

But you know there is a strong prejudice growing against the Indian community in Natal?

I fail to see why there should be any such feeling. Natal has incurred a threefold obligation in favour of Indians. One is that it owes its prosperity to the existence of indentured Indian labour; the second is that it was the Natal Indians who raised an Ambulance Corps of over 1,000 Indians at the time of the Boer War,[3] whose work was specially mentioned in General Buller's despatches, and the third is that, during the recent native rebellion, the Indians, recognizing their duty as citizens, irrespective altogether of their political opinions, offered the

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 123.

[2] The case of Hoondamal; *vide* Vol. IV, pp. 357-9.

[3] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 137-41.

Government services of an Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps,[1] whose work was highly appreciated by Sir Henry McCallum.

Reverting for a moment to the question of the Transvaal Ordinance, our representative pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that the enactment contained no provisions necessitating the identification of Indians by means of digital impressions.

That is so. But Mr. Lionel Curtis, who was then Assistant Colonial Secretary for Urban Affairs in the Transvaal, told a British Indian deputation about three months ago that it was the Government's intention to establish a system of identification under which all Indians would be required to put down on their passes the impressions of their ten fingers, a provision which the Deputation naturally very strongly protest against.

But there is no such provision in the Ordinance?

No; but the Ordinance provides that the Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time make regulations under it, prescribing, amongst other things, the means of identification to be furnished by Indians. It is also laid down in the Ordinance that police officers shall have the right not only to demand from all Asiatics over the age of 16 years production of their passes, but to insist on their furnishing such means of identification as may be prescribed by the regulations, which, according to Mr. Curtis's declaration, means finger-impressions. Such a system is not in force, so far as I am aware, in any part of the world, at any rate with regard to British Indians. It does not apply even to the indentured Indians in Natal.

Indian Opinion, 15-12-1906

62. *LETTER TO SIR CHARLES SCHWANN*

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 1, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I have arrived from South Africa as a Deputation on behalf of the British Indians of the Transvaal to wait upon Lord Elgin, and later on Mr. Morley, in connection with the recently passed Asiatic Ordinance of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal. Mr. Ally and I have been endeavouring to induce gentlemen who have sympathized with the British Indians in South Africa and who have at all studied the question to lead us. The gentlemen as per list[2] enclosed have already

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 363 and 368-73.

[2] This as well as the one mentioned in the "Letter to G. J. Adam", p. 68, was very likely the same as that sent to Lord Elgin later. *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 95.

consented to join the Deputation, and Sir Lepel Griffin has been asked, and has consented, to head it. Mr. Ally and I shall be very much obliged if you could see your way, as you have often spoken in the House on the British Indian question in South Africa, to also lend the Deputation the weight of your influence by your presence. In any case we shall be obliged if you will favour us with an interview so that we may place the position before you. The date fixed by Lord Elgin to receive the Deputation is Thursday the 8th instant at 3 p.m. at the Colonial Office.

On behalf of Mr. Ally and myself,
I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

SIR CHARLES SCHWANN, M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4442

63. LETTER TO H. COX

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 1, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I thrice attempted to see you at the House, and sent my card, but I have not been fortunate enough to meet you. I enclose herewith a letter given to me by Sir William Wedderburn. Sir Henry Cotton has sent me a message that you have consented to join the deputation, for which both Mr. Ally and I are extremely obliged to you. If you could kindly give me an appointment, I shall wait upon you at the time given by you and place the position before you. Lord Elgin has fixed Thursday the 8th instant at 3 o'clock to receive the Deputation at the Colonial Office. Sir Lepel Griffin has been asked, and has consented, to head the deputation.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure[1]

HAROLD COX, ESQ., M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4443

[1] Through oversight the enclosure was not sent with this letter. It was later forwarded by Gandhiji's secretary.

64. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 1, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your postcard. My letter informing you, however, of the date of the Deputation must have crossed the postcard. Mr. Ally, I am sorry to say, has not yet returned from the Hospital, though he is getting much better. Both he and I are anxious to pay our respects to you and to place the position before you before the Deputation waits on Lord Elgin. If, therefore, you can give an appointment some time before Thursday Mr. Ally will come down from Bromley specially and we will wait on you.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

AMEER ALI, ESQ., C.I.E.
THE LAMBDENS,
BEENHAM
NEAR READING

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4445

65. CIRCULAR LETTER[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

Will you please attend at the Hotel at 12 noon sharp tomorrow (Saturday, 3rd) in connection with the Representation[2] to be sent to Lord Elgin by the Indian students from South Africa.

Yours truly,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4448

[1] This was evideutly addressed to George Godfrey and other South African Indians then studying in England.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to G. Godfrey", pp. 54-5.

66. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

SIR,

In continuation of my letter of the 31st October, I have now the honour to enclose herewith a Representation[1] containing a statement of facts prepared by the Delegates which will form the basis for further submission to Lord Elgin on the 8th instant. I shall be obliged if you will kindly lay it before His Lordship.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure

From a photostat of the original: Colonial Office Records: C. O. 291, Vol. 113/Ind.; also a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4470

67. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I send you by book-post 25 copies of the Representation, presented to Lord Elgin by us as the basis for discussion at the interview which comes off on the 8th. It is not to be printed, because most of the points raised therein will be found in the memorials presented there. You may deal with it generally if you like, though it will be stale by the time it reaches you. You may, however, let friends have copies.

[1] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 45-54.

I am sending you only a short note this mail. I have not the energy to give you more. It is now 10.45. I am sending you a few cuttings also.

I expect a reply to my cablegram[1], and hope you have encountered no difficulty in getting them to agree. Mr. Ally is with me completely. I have asked for only £300, and it is possible to manage with that amount with close attention to economy, but if more could be voted more work could be got through. Sir Muncherji is very enthusiastic.

Please ascertain from Miss Neufliess Miss Taylor's address, and forward it to Mr. Bissicks. His address is 83, Commercial Road, Blackfriars, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4449

68. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

Just one line to thank you very much for your letter. I dare not say more. I am working under greater pressure than in J'burg. Except for one night, I have not gone to bed before one o'clock. At times I have sat up till 3.30 in the morning—and I do not know when I shall retire tonight. It is now 10.15. I shall look forward to your letters every week. If I don't write again from here, you will know why.

Yours sincerely,

H. KALLENBACH, ESQ.[2]
P. O. Box 2493
JOHANNESBURG
SOUTH AFRICA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4450

[1] Not available. From "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 20, it is clear that the cablegram refers to the proposed South Africa British Indian Committee.

[2] A prosperous Johannesburg architect and admirer of Tolstoy; became a close associate and friend of Gandhiji. *Vide Satyagraha in South Africa,* Ch. XXIII and *Autobiography* Part IV, Ch. XXX.

69. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. WEST,

The enclosed[1] tells you all I have to say: I am too busy to say more. I had a letter from Miss Pywell in reply to mine[2]. I shall endeavour still to run up to Leicester, if I can.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4451

70. LETTER TO W. J. MACINTYRE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. MACINTYRE,

I have your nice, chatty, and humorous letter. Your pun is good. It is funny that you should not have been aware to the extent you now are of the spirit of toleration I possess. However, we shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away. By the time this reaches you you will be nearing your examination. Mr. Ritch has passed, and your sanguine letter inspires me with the hope that you will do likewise. I expect tomorrow Mrs. Freeth's address.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. MACINTYRE, ESQ.[3]
Box 6522
JOHANNESBURG

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4452

[1] Not available

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Miss A. Pywell", pp. 57-8.

[3] A Scottish theosophist and articled clerk of Gandhiji

71. LETTER TO J. C. MUKERJI

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

I received your wire. I had intended to send the list through the professor[1], but I forgot at the last moment. I shall now be sending the names to Mr. Polak himself. I hope I have not unnecessarily detained you.

Yours truly,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4453

72. LETTER TO G. J. ADAM

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Lord Elgin has appointed Thursday the 8th instant for receiving the Deputation. The Delegates from the Transvaal will be assisted by the gentlemen as per list enclosed. Sir Lepel Griffin will head the deputation. The list is subject to addition.

Yours truly,

G. J. ADAM, ESQ.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4454

73. LETTER TO H. COX

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter and your postcard. I shall be pleased to wait on you on Monday at 4.30.

I am,
Yours truly,

HAROLD COX, ESQ.
6, RAYMOND'S BUILDINGS
GRAY'S INN, W.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4455

[1] Parmanand

74. LETTER TO MRS. S. WALTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MRS. SPENCER WALTON,

I have your letter of the 30th ultimo. I am now preparing for the interview with Lord Elgin, which comes off on Thursday next. I shall therefore endeavour to call on you either on Friday next, or early some time week after. I shall however drop you a note if I can at all spare the time.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. SPENCER WALTON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4456

75. LETTER TO MISS E. LAWSON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MISS LAWSON,

Does your not having turned up show that you have been suited? If so, my congratulations. If you have not been fixed up, I will value a call from you tomorrow. If I am away, please wait. I am likely to be in the whole morning. If I go out in the afternoon I shall leave word with somebody as to my movements. Mr. Simmonds will probably be away for the afternoon; otherwise he would have waited.

Yours truly,

MISS LAWSON
c/o MRS. HOSTER
ST. STEPHEN'S CHAMBERS
TELEGRAPH STREET, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4457

76. *LETTER TO J. C. GIBSON*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. GIBSON,

I am obliged to you for your sympathetic note. As a matter of fact I fully intended to call on you before leaving Johannesburg, but working against time I have had to leave undone many things I would have liked to do. I do not see the slightest chance of my being able to go to Scotland. I have come here for a month, but I see I can put in a good six months' work and yet have a balance left over. I am practically working day and night.

Yours truly,

J. C. GIBSON, ESQ.[1]
P. O. BOX 1261
JOHANNESBURG

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4458

77. *LETTER TO S. HOLLICK*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 31st ultimo. I shall be pleased to see you at the Hotel on Monday or Tuesday next at 9.30 a.m. if it is convenient to you.

Yours faithfully,

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4459

[1] A resident of Johannesburg. It was to his private office that Gandhiji was carried in an unconscious state after being assaulted by Mir Alam and others on February 10, 1908; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXII.

78. LETTER TO H. BISSICKS

[HOTEL CECIL,]
LONDON,
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. BISSICKS,

Your letter addressed to me at Johannesburg has been redirected to me here. You will no doubt be surprised to receive this letter. If you have the time I shall be glad to see you on Wednesday or Thursday next at 9.30 a.m. I would have called myself, but as my stay here is very brief, I am obliged to give up many friendly calls. I fully sympathize with you in your troubles, and I do not at all expect you to pay anything towards the advance made by me to the late Miss Bissicks[1]. It was my contribution to the cause of vegetarianism. I regret I do not know Miss Taylor's address, but I am asking my people in Johannesburg to send it to you.[2]

Yours truly,

H. BISSICKS, ESQ.
83, COMMERCIAL ROAD
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4460

79. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
November 2, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

SIR,

As I have arrived here as a member of the Transvaal Indian Deputation, the Natal Indian Congress has forwarded to me the

[1] A theosophist, client and friend. The reference is to the money Gandhiji had lent her. *Vide* Vol. V, p. 33.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 65-6.

enclosed authority[1] to wait on His Lordship in connection with the local disabilities of British Indians in Natal. I was Honorary Secretary of the Congress for over six years, and even during my residence in Johannesburg I have had the privilege of advising the Congress. I therefore possess a fairly intimate knowledge of the situation in Natal.

On the 29th October I received the following cable:

> Alarming Bill to restrict renewal of licenses to Parliamentary voters only lodged in Assembly by Tatham. Trading liberty at stake. Explain Colonial Office British public. Message recommended by representative gathering.

This message has reference to a Bill that it is proposed to introduce by Mr. Ralph Tatham, [*sic*] a new Member of the Legislative Assembly of Natal, limiting the renewal of trade licenses to those only who are on the Parliamentary Voters' Roll. The effect of this measure would be, if it were passed into law, to efface the Indian trader entirely from the Colony of Natal.

I shall be greatly obliged if His Lordship would favour me with a short interview regarding the Natal matters, and I am sure that if Lord Elgin could spare the time the favour would be highly appreciated by the Natal Indian community.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosure]

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 179, Vol. 239/Ind.; also a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4461

80. LETTER TO T. H. THORNTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Arathoon told me that on the invitation of Sir Lepel Griffin you had kindly consented to join the deputation which is to wait on Lord Elgin in connection with the British Indians in the Transvaal. I beg, therefore, to state that the Deputation will be received by Lord Elgin at the Colonial Office on Thursday the 8th instant at 3 o'clock. I have advised the other members of the time, and venture to suggest that it will be better if all the members were at the Colonial Office at half-past two, so that there should be a short conference amongst the

[1] By oversight Gandhiji failed to enclose this letter of authority. *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 103-4.

members of the deputation. I enclose also a Circular Letter[1] I have addressed to the members together with some papers.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

3 enclosures

T. H. THORNTON, ESQ., C.S.I., D.C.L.[2]
c/o THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
3, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS
VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4462

81. LETTER TO J. H. POLAK

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I sent Mr. Ritch over to you in connection with the meeting, not only because you know Mr. Scott much better than I do, but also because my time is otherwise very fully occupied and I feel that if you could spare a few hours during the 3 or 4 days that are available it might be possible to hasten the proposed meeting of Members. The idea is to have the meeting before the Deputation meets Lord Elgin and to have a resolution passed by the meeting, to be forwarded to Lord Elgin. If, therefore, you can do it, please bestir yourself. At the same time I shall certainly see Mr. Scott and other Members, as suggested by you.

What have you done with *The Morning Leader* man? Have you, too, further considered the question of the education of the young man[3] about whom I had a chat with you last Sunday?

May I say that any expenses you may incur in connection with the moving about, etc., should be paid by me.

As it is not possible for me to see the Pundit[4] before Sunday or on any other day, I am afraid I shall have to deny myself the pleasure of enjoying the musical evening at your house, and shall have to be

[1] *Vide* "Circular Letter", pp. 43-4.

[2] Thomas Henry Thornton, (1832-1913); Chief Secretary to Government of the Punjab (1864-76); Acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, (1876-7); author of books on India

[3] Ruthnum Pather

[4] Shyamji Krishnavarma

satisfied with the few hours I shall be able to pass with you in the afternoon of Sunday. May I ask you also to look me up at the Hotel in the morning, before you go to your office.

Yours truly,

J. H. POLAK, ESQ.
28, GROSVENOR ROAD
CANONBURY

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4463

82. LETTER TO MESSRS A. BONNER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIRS,

I enclose herewith cheque for £6.17.0 together with your bill in settlement of your account. I shall thank you to receipt the bill and return it.

Yours faithfully,

[2] enclosure[s]

Cheque, £6.17.0
Account

MESSRS A. BONNER[1]
1 & 2, TOOK'S COURT
LONDON, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4464

83. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

Mr. Scott, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Mackarness have suggested a meeting of Members at the House to hear the views of the Indian Delegates. Sir William approves of the idea. It seems to me that if such a meeting were possible before the date fixed by Lord Elgin for meeting

[1] Printers of *India*, who presumably did Gandhiji's printing work while he was in England

the Deputation, and if a resolution were adopted by the meeting sympathizing with the objects of the Deputation, it will strengthen the hands of the Deputation, as also Lord Elgin's. I have therefore written to Mr. Scott. If you approve of the idea, may I ask you to move in the matter. If you desire me to wait upon you, I will do so with pleasure.

Yours truly,

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4466

84. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 1st instant. I have now placed myself in communication with Mr. Harold Cox. I went over to the House twice to see him but I could not catch him.

Yours sincerely,

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4465

85. LETTER TO W. A. WALLACE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter regarding the renting of room No. 28, Ground Floor, for which I thank you. I hope to be able to let you know definitely in the course of next week.

Yours faithfully,

W. A. WALLACE, ESQ.
QUEEN ANNE'S CHAMBERS
BROADWAY
WESTMINSTER

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4467

86. *LETTER TO YUK LIN LEW*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. LEW,

I hope you have received the draft of the letter[1] for the Chinese Minister to send to the Foreign Secretary.

Yours truly,

HIS EXCELLENCY YUK LIN LEW
CHINESE CONSUL-GENERAL IN THE TRANSVAAL
RICHMOND HOUSE
49, PORTLAND PLACE, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4468

87. *LETTER TO A. H. SCOTT*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEAR MR. SCOTT,

You and Mr. Robertson suggested that there should be a meeting of Members of the House who take an interest in the British Indian Association. May I know whether you have taken any further steps in the matter? A very strong deputation will introduce us to Lord Elgin. I beg to enclose herewith a list of the names [*sic*] of the deputation[2] and a copy of a representation to Lord Elgin which will be the basis for submission to His Excellency on Thursday next, when he will receive the deputation. Lord Elgin has asked me to restrict the number of the deputation to twelve. I am, therefore, precluded from inviting any other friends of the cause who I know would willingly join it. But I feel it would strengthen our hands, as also Lord Elgin's, if the meeting referred to above could take place before Thursday next and a resolution passed thereat, which could be conveyed to Lord Elgin. I shall esteem

[1] *Vide* "Draft for Chinese Ambassador", pp. 59-60.

[2] For final list of members of the deputation, *vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 95.

it a personal favour if you could kindly move in the matter. If you want me to wait on you I shall do so.

I am,
Yours truly,

2 enclosures

A. H. SCOTT, ESQ., M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4469

88. LETTER TO LORD GEORGE HAMILTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

MY LORD,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 31st October. Mr. Ally and I will be in London at least up to the 17th instant. Lord Elgin will receive us on the 8th instant. If it is possible for your Lordship to give Mr. Ally and myself an appointment before that date we will feel greatly obliged.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's humble servant,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE HAMILTON[1]
17, MONTAGU STREET
PORTMAN SQUARE, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4471

89. JUVENILE SMOKING

We have drawn the attention of our readers more than once to the fact that the habit of smoking *bidis* or cigars is harmful.[2] Now we have yet another occasion to refer to it. A law has been enacted in the Victoria Province of Australia to check the evil habit; under this law none below sixteen may smoke. A shopkeeper found selling or giving a *bidi* to a boy below that age may be fined 20 shillings for the first offence and 40 shillings for the second; if he is caught a third time, his licence may be cancelled for five years.

[1] Under-Secretary and later Secretary of State for India
[2] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 105.

It is not for the first time in the history of the world that such strict measures have been adopted for the prevention of smoking. Such laws are in force in some civilized countries like Japan and Germany and, nearer home, the Cape Colony. A short time ago, a similar bill was introduced in Natal also. But the usefulness of a juvenile smoking bill is not recognized in a land where enthusiasm is misused for getting rich by ruining others and, if possible, driving them out. Tobacco does nothing but harm. It weakens body and mind. It is obvious that its harmful effect is felt all the more in youth. In certain places, religion forbids the use of tobacco, and it is true that many Indians do not smoke for that reason. But in some places the habit is so firmly rooted that we feel no hesitation in writing against it again and again.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-11-1906

90. REPRESENTATION TO LORD ELGIN[1]

COMMON ROOM,
LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.,
November 3, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

We, the undersigned British Indians domiciled in South Africa, have read with a great deal of pain and anxiety the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal, and we have naturally followed with great interest the movements of the British Indian Deputation that has arrived from the Transvaal.

We are all students from South Africa, four of us studying for the Bar, and one of us studying medicine, and while we cannot but sympathize with the struggles of our countrymen in the Transvaal for liberty, our chief anxiety is regarding ourselves and persons placed in a position similar to our own, and we venture respectfully to approach your Lordship to explain our position in the light of the new Ordinance.

We are all of us either born or brought up in South Africa, and to us South Africa is more our home than India. Even our mother tongue

[1] This is the final form of the representation which Gandhiji drafted. *Vide* footnote to "Letter to G. Godfrey", p. 54 and "Circular Letter", p. 64. The representation was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-12-1906.

is English, our parents having brought us up to speak that language from our infancy. Three of us are Christians, one a Mahommedan, and one a Hindoo.

According to the information received by us, and in accordance with the personal knowledge of the first undersigned, the effect of the Peace Preservation Ordinance of the Transvaal, the declaration made by Lord Selborne to the White Leagues of the Transvaal, and the present Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance which has brought the Indian Deputation to wait on your Lordship (with the exception of the first undersigned, who has lived in the Transvaal, and who was practising as a sworn Translator and Interpreter in the English and Hindustani languages of the Honourable the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, and who came into very close contact with the Asiatic Department), all of us would be unable to proceed to the Transvaal because we are not pre-war residents of the Transvaal. The net result of this disability would be that, although the certificates we would receive on our being called to the Bar, or on our receiving the Medical Diploma, which [*sic*] would entitle us to carry on our professions in any part of the British Dominions on the production of those certificates and of evidence of good character, our diplomas or certificates would be valueless, so far as the Transvaal is concerned. We would moreover on the one hand be able, although being without the Transvaal border, on application to receive from the Court or from the Medical Society a license to carry on our profession, but we would be debarred from making use thereof by reason of the want of a permit to enter the Transvaal.

Most of us, and many others born in South Africa and elsewhere, and equally well educated, would be required to submit to registration, and to produce a permit to any policeman who may demand to see it and to be marched off to the police station, or to the Criminal Investigation Department office to furnish means of identification in order to show that we are lawful possessors of those passes. We would also, we apprehend, be liable to be called upon to furnish means of identification at the time of taking out the passes in question, and be called upon to give the imprints of our ten digits and any other particulars that may be required under regulations to be framed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Having lived in England, and having breathed its free atmosphere, and having received every consideration from Englishmen in this country, your Lordship will easily appreciate the anxiety the prospect of the above Ordinance engenders. We are here being nurtured in the teachings of Bentham, Austin, and other English writers whose names are a watchword for liberty and independence, and we could hardly believe that anything of the kind referred to above would possibly be applicable to us.

We would not have troubled your Lordship with this representation if it was a matter affecting and ending only with ourselves, but we are aware that the desire on the part of the Indians to give a good education to their children is daily growing. There are to-day Indians in South Africa occupying a status similar to our own. We therefore think, it is but right that we should bring to the notice of your Lordship and, through this humble representation, to the attention of every public man in the Empire the intensity of the feeling aroused by the present status of British Indians in the Transvaal. We therefore humbly pray and hope that your Lordship will be able to grant us, and those similarly placed as we are, the protection that we venture to believe we are entitled to.

We beg to remain,
Your Lordship's humble and obedient servants,
GEORGE V. GODFREY
JOSEPH ROYEPPEN
JAS. W. GODFREY
A. H. GOOL
S. RUTHNUM PATHER

From a photostat of the printed copy: G. N. 2307

91. LETTER TO A. W. ARATHOON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ritch has given me your kind note. I forwarded to Mr. Thornton the papers under the care of the Association[1] yesterday,[2] which I hope you have re-directed. I am very thankful to you for the interest you are taking in the matter. I am writing to Mr. Thornton again today confirming my letter of yesterday.

Yours truly,

A. W. ARATHOON, ESQ.
3, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4472

[1] East India Association
[2] *Vide* "Letter to T. H. Thornton", pp. 72-3.

92. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR MR. BROWN,

I venture to enclose herewith two copies of the Representation forwarded to Lord Elgin for your perusal. The Representation will be used as the basis for discussion at the interview that comes off on the 8th instant.

Yours truly,

2 enclosures

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4473

93. LETTER TO NATAL BANK MANAGER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

TO
THE MANAGER
NATAL BANK
LONDON

DEAR SIR,

Will you kindly give the bearer Mr. Ritch a draft on Johannesburg for £100 filled in. I shall then sign it and return it to you to be placed to my credit.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4474

94. LETTER TO A. CARTWRIGHT

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR SIR,

A Mrs. Reide called on me today. She seemed to be very ill. I was unable to follow all she said, and as she appeared very nervous

I did not put any questions to her. She gave me your name, and showed me some paper also bearing your name. I believe she needs some assistance. If you know of her case, or if you have interested yourself in her case, I shall thank you to let me know something about it.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

ALBERT CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.[1]
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4475

95. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES DILKE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your letter regarding the Indian Deputation from the Transvaal. If you cannot possibly come, I venture to hope that you will be good enough to send on Wednesday a letter of sympathy which could be read to Lord Elgin.

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR CHARLES DILKE, BART., M.P.
SLOANE STREET, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4476

96. LETTER TO SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR SIR LEPEL,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 2nd instant. I sent you yesterday papers in connection with the question. I now beg to enclose herewith a list of those who have consented to join the

[1] Later editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, he mediated between Gandhiji and Smuts; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXI.

deputation. Lord Elgin has asked me to restrict the number to twelve. It is quite probable that Sir Charles Schwann would join.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN
4, CADOGAN GARDENS, S.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4477

97. LETTER TO T. H. THORNTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 3, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Arathoon has forwarded your letter of the 1st instant to me. As soon as he gave me your name as one of the deputation, I forwarded the papers to you, and hope you have received them. I write now only to add that, if you could find time to see Mr. Ally and me before the deputation meets in order to enable us to pay our respects to you and to place the position more fully before you, we shall be very much obliged.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

T. THORNTON, ESQ., C.S.I., D.C.L., &C.
10, MARLBOROUGH BUILDINGS
BATH

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4478

98. THE DEPUTATION'S VOYAGE—V[1]

LONDON,
November 3, 1906

SHYAMJI KRISHNAVARMA AND INDIA HOUSE

As I promised in my last despatch, I now write about Mr. Shyamji Krishnavarma and India House. Mr. Shyamji Krishnavarma is a barrister from Bombay, and a son-in-law of Mr. Chhabildas Bhansali. As his

[1] This and the previous instalment, "The Deputation's Voyage-IV", (pp. 27-9), appeared together in the same issue of *Indian Opinion*. As this was, however, written later and meant to be a separate despatch, it is here printed separately in its proper sequence.

knowledge of Sanskrit was of a very high order, the late Prof. Monier Williams took him to Oxford where, because of his ability, he was made a professor and earned a lot of money.

Meanwhile he studied law and was called to the bar, took a degree at Oxford and studied Greek, Latin and other languages. When he returned to India, he took with him £2,000 which he had saved—a thing which, it is said, no other Indian had done before. In India he served as Dewan in Ajmer[1] and other States. Later, his ideas changed and he decided to spend his earnings for the benefit of the country. With this end in view he came to England and settled here. He lives on the land which he has purchased. Though he can afford to live in comfort, he lives in poverty. He dresses simply and lives like an ascetic. His mission is service to his country. The idea underlying his service is that there should be complete *swaraj* for India and that the British should quit the country, handing over power to Indians. If they do not do so, the Indians should refuse them all help so that they become unable to carry on the administration and are forced to leave. He holds that unless this is done the people of India will never be happy. Everything else will follow *swaraj*.

India House

In order to seek support for these views and win people over to his faith, he has founded India House at his own cost. Any Indian student is allowed to stay there against a very small weekly payment. All Indians, whether Hindus, Muslims or others, can and do stay there. The expenses of some students are borne by Shyamji himself. There is full freedom for everyone in the matter of food and drink. Being situated in fine surroundings, the place has a very good atmosphere. On the first day of our arrival, both Mr. Ally and I went to stay at India House, and we were very well looked after. But as our work requires our getting in touch with important people and as India House is rather remote, we have been obliged to come and live at this Hotel at great expense.

Expenses in England

I had believed a man could live here on £1 a day, but my estimate has proved wrong. Here a bed-sitting-room costs 12s 6d a day, with extra charge for a bath. These charges are for a single person. For reasons of health, Mr. Ally sleeps in Dr. Oldfield's home. If one eats at the Hotel, a meal costs as much as 5s. We therefore eat at a vegetarian restaurant. We have a meal at the Hotel only when we ask an acquaintance over or invite an important person to lunch or dinner. Today,

[1] Ajmer was British territory, not a Native State. Gandhiji seems to have mistaken it for Udaipur where Krishnavarma was Dewan.

for instance, we had Mr. James, the Chinese delegate, and a Chinese lawyer. Mr. Ritch was also with us. The bill for a single meal came to £1.11s. At the vegetarian restaurant a meal hardly costs more than 1s 6d for a person. And as Mr. Godfrey or some other assistant is always with us, the cost for a meal comes to three to four shillings. As all the important persons live at distant places, we have to spend a great deal on transport. We go sometimes by train, sometimes by bus and often by cab. There is hardly time for walking. In spite of all this hurrying, we cannot see more than two persons a day. Often at the House of Commons we have to wait an hour before we can see a Member. However, we hope to be able to keep the expenses within the limits set by the Committee.

Insufficient Time

We had intended to stay here for a month. But from experience I see that there would be work enough for us to do if we were to stay six months and that it would not all be fruitless. We find many people coming forward who sympathize with our cause and are ready to work for it.

Interview with Lord Elgin

The meeting with Lord Elgin has been fixed for November 8, when Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Stanley, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, Mr. Harold Cox, Sir George Birdwood and Sir Charles Dilke will join us. Sir Lepel Griffin will act as the leader. A petition setting out the facts in brief has been printed and sent today to Lord Elgin. As it consists mostly of the arguments we have been advancing there, I do not give its translation here.

Press Comments

Interviews [with the Press] have been published in *South Africa*, *The Morning Leader* and *The Tribune*. *South Africa*, which used to be bitterly critical, has now written somewhat in our favour. Our letter to *The Times* has been published in substance. Notice has been taken of it in other papers also.

Members of House of Commons

Efforts are being made to bring together some Members of the House of Commons so that they may hear us and pass a resolution expressing sympathy with our cause. In this matter we have received great assistance from Mr. Polak's father and Mr. Ritch. I cannot say more just yet. Efforts are also being made to arrange an interview

with Lord George Hamilton, former Secretary of State for India, which most likely will materialize. Whatever happens, I at any rate expect to return before January 1. Mr. Ally has sought an interview with the Turkish Ambassador. A reply is expected on Monday.

Need for a Permanent Committee

Sir Muncherji has been working hard in our behalf. He and some others are of the opinion that, for a few years at least, it is necessary to have a standing committee here. Even if Lord Elgin rejects the Ordinance, it is certain that, when the Transvaal gets self-government, new laws will be enacted, and some vigilant work will have to be put in here. Unless there is a person who gives all his time to a single cause, it is difficult to carry on public work in this city. Many may express sympathy, but if work is to be got out of them, they must be supplied with prepared material. Only then can they do something, for they have many other matters to attend to. The expenses for a committee of this kind may come to at least £300 a year. It can be formed only if the Transvaal Indian community undertakes to find the money. It will need an office, for which more than £50 a year will be required. Mr. Ritch has now done his final examination and as long as he is here, he can do a lot for us. He should be given an allowance of at least £10 a month. He is a poor man. Otherwise, he is so good that he would work for us free of charge. Thus, £170 will be spent on the office and the Secretary. The furniture is expected to cost £30. The remaining £100 to be spent on house rent, conveyance, printing, dinners, etc., is a small amount. But I believe that, with this expenditure, much can be accomplished here. Such committees for big causes are to be found all over London. We find that a Committee of the Chinese League is already functioning here. As the committee can be formed only while we are here and as the work is urgent, a cablegram has been sent to South Africa. Natal and the Cape can both join in this. As there is not much to do for the Cape Indians just now and as their leaders have been passing through hard times, we have not suggested collection of any funds from the Cape. Many prominent Britishers have agreed to work on this committee, if it is formed.

Brave Women

A vigorous movement is going on here for securing the franchise for women. When the Government showed willingness to grant special treatment in gaol to the brave daughter of the late Mr. Cobden, she replied, 'No matter how I suffer, I shall seek no favour from you. I am in gaol for my own and my sisters' rights, and I will live like a common prisoner till the franchise is granted.' Such words have stirred

up public feeling in their favour, and the papers which used to ridicule them before have stopped doing so. Every Indian in the Transvaal should take to heart the example of these brave women.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 1-12-1906

99. CIRCULAR FOR MEETING AT HOUSE OF COMMONS[1]

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

A meeting of the Liberal, Labour and Nationalist Members of this House will take place at 6 p.m. on Wednesday next, the 7th inst. in the Grand Committee Room, to hear the British Indian Deputation that has arrived from the Transvaal, in connection with the Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council of that Colony, termed the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, and to pass a resolution.

In the opinion of the Delegates, the Ordinance reduces the British Indian settlers of the Transvaal to a position much worse than they occupied under the Boer regime and even than that of the Kaffirs.

They contend that the Ordinance in question is in contravention of promises repeatedly made by British Ministers and in conflict with British traditions.

The undersigned trust that you will be good enough to attend the meeting.

We are,
Yours faithfully,

HENRY COTTON
H. COX
CHARLES W. DILKE
CHARLES SWANN[2]
R. LEHMANN
J. M. ROBERTSON
A. H. SCOTT
J. WARD

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4482

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to Sir Charles Schwann", p. 102.
[2] Schwann; *vide* " Letter to Sir Charles Schwann," p. 102.

100. LETTER TO J. KITCHIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Your brother and my friend, Mr. H. Kitchin, has written to me sending your address. He is anxious, and so am I, that I should make your acquaintance during my brief stay in London, and I shall thank you if you will kindly make an appointment.

I shall be exceedingly busy this week with reference to the Deputation that is to wait upon Lord Elgin. Will you therefore kindly make an appointment for some time next week?

Yours truly,

JOSEPH KITCHIN, ESQ.
"INGLENOOK"
BRACKLEY ROAD
BECKENHAM

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4484

101. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your note of the 3rd instant. Mr. Ally I expect here today from Bromley, and he and I will be pleased to wait on you at the Reform Club to-morrow at 4 p.m.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

AMEER ALI, ESQ., C.I.E.
THE LAMBDENS
BEENHAM
NEAR READING

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4485

102. *LETTER TO G. J. ADAM*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your enquiry, the Deputation will be received by Lord Elgin at 3 p.m. next Thursday.

Yours faithfully,

G. J. ADAM, ESQ.
24, OLD JEWRY
LONDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4486

103. *LETTER TO G. WALPOLE*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 3rd inst. for which I thank you.

I shall not need your services with regard to the Deputation as I have permanently engaged the services of an expert shorthand writer.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE WALPOLE, ESQ.
1, NEW COURT
LINCOLN'S INN

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4487

104. LETTER TO SISTER IN CHARGE, ST. EDMUND'S

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

TO
THE SISTER IN CHARGE
ST. EDMUND'S
"BROADSTAIRS"

DEAR MADAM,

Dr. Josiah Oldfield and I are old friends. The Doctor has just seen a friend of mine, Mr. Suleman Manga, whose case in the opinion of Dr. Oldfield calls for a change and rest for a week or two at your Convalescent Home. Would you kindly inform Mr. Manga by telegram whether you have accommodation for him, also your charges per week. Mr. Manga's address is: 106, Baron's Court Road, W. Kindly send Mr. Manga the telegram early tomorrow morning.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4488

105. LETTER TO EDITOR, "THE TIMES"

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, E.C.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith for your information [and] publication the signed letter[1] addressed by some of the Members of the House of Commons.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4489

[1] "Circular for Meeting at House of Commons", p. 87.

106. LETTER TO G. J. ADAM

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

DEAR MR. ADAM,

I enclose herewith for your information the circular letter addressed by some of the Members of the House of Commons.

Perhaps you will be so kind as to furnish the Press with information.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

G. J. ADAM, ESQ.
24, OLD JEWRY
LONDON, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4490

107. LETTER TO LORD ELGIN[1]

22, KENNINGTON ROAD,
LAMBETH,
November 5, 1906

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

MY LORD,

I beg to draw your attention to the copy of *Indian Opinion* for the 13th of October, herewith enclosed. It contains the leading article, "The Thin End", about which I have already had the honour to write to you, also a report of the case of Mahomed Hafejee Moosa on page 745 entitled "War on Infants".

[1] The address at the top would suggest that the letter was from Dadabhai Naoroji, but this copy was found among Gandhiji's papers. Gandhiji's letter to him dated November 17 (*vide* p. 179) shows that, during the Deputation's stay in England, Mr. Naoroji sent all papers received from South Africa to Gandhiji who returned them offering comment and explanation and sometimes suggesting courses of action. It is thus very likely that Gandhiji drafted the letter because of his ready familiarity with the South African situation.

I venture to think that the report brings into prominent relief the difficulties of British Indians (even infants) in the Transvaal.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

[Enclosure]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4483

108. LETTER TO A. CARTWRIGHT

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 5, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 5th instant.

I enclose herewith the Representation submitted to Lord Elgin, and also a circular letter addressed to the Liberal and other Members of the House of Commons who are taking active interest in the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal in the light of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

You may have seen that Lord Elgin receives the Deputation on Thursday next at 3 o'clock.

I also enclose a copy of the Representation[1] made to Lord Elgin by five young Indians from South Africa who are studying either for the Bar or for the medical profession. Your letter encourages me [to] seek your personal acquaintance. May I ask you to give me an interview some time after next Thursday, and if it is convenient to you, we might lunch together at the Hotel and talk over the matter that has brought Mr. Ally and myself to London.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

[3 enclosures]

ALBERT CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4491

[1] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80.

109. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[Hotel Cecil,
London,]
November 6, 1906

Dear Mr. Brown,

I thank you for your letter of the 5th instant. I send you the last two copies of *Indian Opinion*, which will give you some more information about the Ordinance, and also on the general movements of the Indian community in South Africa. You will also see that the last number contains photographs of the Delegates.

It was very kind of you to introduce Mr. Ritch and me to Sir Curzon Wyllie[1], though at the time you introduced us I did not know that Sir Curzon was the Political A.D.C. to Mr. Morley.

I have shown your letter to Mr. Ritch, who will let you have a copy of his paper[2] some time previous to the Friday preceding the date of its delivery.

Enclosed you will find a complete list of the members of the deputation.

Yours truly,

3 enclosures

F. H. Brown, Esq.
"Dilkusha"
Westbourne Road
Forest Hill, S.E.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4492

[1] Assassinated in July 1909 by an Indian terrorist at the Imperial Institute in London

[2] *Vide* "Ritch's Speech at East India Association", pp. 255-7.

110. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES DILKE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 5th instant. As suggested therein, I will not make use of the letter[1] before Lord Elgin.

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR CHARLES DILKE, BART., M.P.
76, SLOANE STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4493

111. LETTER TO MESSRS A. BONNER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

MESSRS A. BONNER
PRINTERS
1 & 2, TOOK'S COURT, E.C.

DEAR SIRS,

I have your letter. I now enclose further cheque for One Pound and your amended bill, which please return duly discharged.

Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4494

[1] The letter of sympathy, mentioned in "Letter to Sir Charles Dilke", p. 82.

112. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

The list of members of the deputation is now completed. I beg to enclose same herewith. Including the two Delegates from the Transvaal, the number has reached fourteen, but I hope that Lord Elgin will be graciously pleased to excuse my having exceeded the number, as Sir Charles Dilke has written saying that although he will try to be present it may not be possible for him to do so as there is a Committee Meeting of the House of Commons on, at about the same time, which Sir Charles has to attend.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

Enclosure

List of gentlemen who, together with the two Delegates from the British Indians of the Transvaal, will form the deputation to wait on Lord Elgin on Thursday the 8th November, 1906.

Lord Stanley of Alderley	Sir George Birdwood
Sir Charles Dilke	Mr. Harold Cox
Sir Lepel Griffin	Mr. Ameer Ali
Sir Henry Cotton	Mr. T. [H.] Thornton
Sir M. M. Bhownaggree	Sir Charles Schwann
Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji	Mr. J. D. Rees[1].

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4495-6

[1] Sir John David Rees, (1854-1922); Indian Civil Service, 1875; Government Translator for Tamil, Telugu, Persian and Hindustani; Under-Secretary to the Madras Government; British Resident in Travancore and Cochin; additional Member of Governor-General of India's Council; author of *Tours in India, The Mahommedans, The Real India, Modern India,* etc.

113. LETTER TO J. D. REES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I are greatly obliged for your letter of even date. We have indeed watched your advocacy of the cause of the British Indians in the Transvaal, and in due course we would have waited on you. We are now sending your name to Lord Elgin as a member of the deputation. As you know, the deputation will meet Lord Elgin on Thursday next at 3 p.m. at the Colonial Office. All the members of the deputation have been requested to attend at the Colonial Office at 2.30 p.m., so that a short conference may be held. Sir Lepel Griffin will head the deputation. I beg to enclose herewith a list of the members forming the deputation, as also a copy of the Representation to Lord Elgin which will form the basis of submission to him on Thursday, and copy of the precis of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance[1].

I hope you have received the Circular issued by several members of the House of Commons, convening a meeting of the Liberal, Nationalist, and Labour Members of Parliament. I venture to trust that you will find time to attend the meeting. If possible, Mr. Ally and I will take an opportunity of sending in a card to you at the House, so that we may be able to place the position before you more fully than we could at the conference on Thursday.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

3 enclosures

J. D. REES, ESQ.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4497

[1] *Vide* pp. 97-9.

[ENCLOSURE]

PRECIS OF ASIATIC LAW AMENDMENT ORDINANCE, 1906[1]

[LONDON,]
November 2, 1906

DEFINITION: The term "Asiatic" shall mean any such person as is described in Article 1 of Law [3] of 1885.

The term "Asiatic" under Law 3 of 1885 includes the so-called coolies, Arabs, Malays, Mohammedan subjects of the Turkish Dominions.

This Ordinance however excepts the Malays from its operation.

REGISTRATION: Section 3 requires every lawfully resident Asiatic in the Transvaal to be registered, for which no charges shall be made, and in accordance with the section, an Asiatic lawfully resident is one who has received, or may receive, a permanent permit to enter and reside in the Transvaal, unless such permit is fraudulently obtained, or any Asiatic resident and actually in the Transvaal on the 31st day of May 1902.

SECTION 4: Requires every such Asiatic to make an application for registration, such application to be made in the case of children under 16 years of age by their parents or guardians.

SECTION 5: Lays down that, if the application for registration is refused, the applicant shall be directed to leave the Colony, under the process described in the section.

SECTION 6: Says that any Asiatic who is the guardian of any Asiatic child under the age of eight years shall upon making application for registration on his own behalf supply such particulars and furnish such means of identification in respect of such child as may be prescribed by regulation, and if such guardian is himself registered, the particulars aforesaid which he has supplied shall be provisionally noted on the Register, and such guardian shall within one year make application for registration on such child's behalf at the office of the Resident Magistrate of the district in which he himself resides.

The section then proceeds to lay down the procedure for the separate registration of such child after he has attained the age of eight years.

SECTION 7: Deals further with the registration of children.

SECTION 8: Provides that any person who shall fail to make application for registration. . .either on his own behalf or as guardian. . .shall

[1] This was prepared by Gandhiji to apprise sympathizers, particularly members of the introducing deputation, of the real scope and nature of the Ordinance.

be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding One Hundred Pounds, and in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

SECTION 9: Provides that every Asiatic of the age of 16 years and upwards entering or residing in the Transvaal shall upon demand made upon him by any member of the Police Force lawfully established in this Colony, or any other person authorized thereto by the Colonial Secretary, produce the certificate of registration[1] of which he is the lawful holder, and shall also on like demand supply such means of identification as may be prescribed by regulation.

In the case of children under 16 years, the guardians or parents have to produce a certificate and supply particulars of identification.

SECTION 10: Makes certificates of registration conclusive evidence as to the right of the lawful holder to remain in the Colony. (N.B. To-day every Asiatic in possession of his permit has such right by law.)

SECTION[s] 11 & 12: Lay down the procedure for lost certificates.

SECTION 13: Provides that no Asiatic shall obtain a license to trade without production of certificate of registration.

SECTION 14: Makes the Registrar practically the arbiter as to the age of an Asiatic.

SECTION 15: Exempts declarations made for the purposes of the Ordinance from stamp duty.

SECTION 16: Imposes a fine of £500 or in default imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding two years, or both fine and imprisonment, for the following acts:

(1) Any fraudulent or false statement or incitement to make such statement in connection with registration.
(2) Forgery of registration certificate.
(3) Use of such certificate by a person not the lawful holder.
(4) Incitement to any person to use such certificate.

SECTION 17: Authorizes the issue of temporary permits, and authorizes the Lieutenant-Governor at his discretion to order that any Asiatic in possession of a temporary permit "shall not during the currency of such permit be deemed to be a Coloured person for the purpose of the provision of the Liquor Ordinance".

SECTION 18: Gives the Lieutenant-Governor power to frame regulations under the Ordinance.

SECTION 19: Generally provides that any Asiatic failing to comply with any requirement of the Ordinance shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £100, or in default to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

[1] For the form of this certificate, *vide* appendix.

The other Sections provide a heavy penalty for any Asiatic bringing without a permit a child under 16 years of age into the Colony, and among other things cancels [*sic*] such person's permit and certificate of registration, and renders him liable to expulsion, and makes it lawful for the heirs of the late Aboo Baker Ahmed to hold a piece of land bought by the late Aboo Baker Ahmed before 1885, and left under his will to the heirs.[1]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4447

114. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Will you kindly take the bearer's case in hand. His name is A. Tanzi. He is working as a waiter in this Hotel. He has evidently been suffering from rheumatism for three months in the left hand. I shall thank you to charge him the poor fee, and let me know it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
2A, HARLEY STREET
PORTLAND PLACE
CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4498

115. LETTER TO MISS E. ROSENBERG

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 6, 1906

DEAR MADAM,

You have been massaging Mr. Ally at the Lady Margaret Hospital. Mr. Ally is now staying with me at the Hotel. Do you mind calling tomorrow and giving a massage to Mr. Ally at 3.30 p.m. precisely, and as it takes some time before your card will arrive through the page at the Hotel, if you will be at the Hotel at 3.15 you will be able to

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 231-2.

commence the massage at 3.30. Mr. Ally has to fulfil an important engagement at half past five, if not a little earlier.

Yours faithfully,

MISS EBBA ROSENBERG
5, CHESTNUT ROAD
ENFIELD
WASH

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4499

116. LETTER TO J. ROYEPPEN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

MY DEAR JOSEPH,

Please call here if you can tomorrow at 5 o'clock p.m. I would like you to attend the House of Commons meeting and to distribute the Representation by the Delegates, as also the personal representation[1] by you and others. I shall endeavour to have your representation printed. If you can come do not fail.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN, ESQ.
36, STAPLETON HALL ROAD
STROUD GREEN, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4501

117. LETTER TO A. CARTWRIGHT

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your note. It will give Mr. Ally and me very great pleasure to have you for breakfast on Friday at 9 o'clock. I do not know whether the interview with Lord Elgin is open to the Members, but as many enquiries have been made I am asking his Private Secretary. However, will it not perhaps be as well for you to enquire at the Colonial Office? I have suggested this to Mr. Brown. I very much value your advice about the meeting being public. I entirely agree with you in

[1] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80.

thinking that we have everything to gain by all our movements being open to the public, so just, I feel, is our cause. If however the meeting is not public, I should be at the Hotel immediately after the interview and if it is not inconvenient to you, you may await me at the Hotel after this. I do not think the interview is likely to last beyond half past five. Would you care to attend the meeting of the Members of the House of Commons tomorrow at 6 p.m. in the Grand Committee Room[1]. I think I sent you a copy of the Circular Letter[2] yesterday. I, however, enclose another copy.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]
ALBERT CARTWRIGHT, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4502

118. LETTER TO S. HOLLICK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 6, 1906

DEAR MR. HOLLICK,

I now enclose a copy of the Memorial[3] about which we had a chat this morning. You will find it at page 8 of the copy[4] I am sending. I shall thank you to let me have the copy back after perusal.

Yours truly,

Enclosure

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4503

[1] The original has "Grand Tea Room".
[2] *Vide* "Circular for Meeting at House of Commons", p. 87.
[3] *Vide* "Draft Petition to Lord Elgin", pp. 106-7.
[4] Not available

119. COVERING LETTER[1]

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
November 6, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith complete list of members who are to form the deputation that is to wait on Lord Elgin at 3 o'clock on Thursday next the 8th instant at the Colonial Office in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4504

120. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES SCHWANN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 7, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I apologize for the incorrect spelling of your name in the Circular Letter.[2] You will readily excuse the mistake when I inform you that I received instructions from Mr. Scott at 8 p.m. on Monday, and that I had to have these Circular Letters printed and posted the same night. It was with difficulty that I was able to find a printer, and it would have been impossible to do the thing but for assistance that was volunteered. However, there was no time left for examining the proof copy; hence the error.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR CHAS. SCHWANN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4505

[1] Possibly addressed to the Press and members of the deputation
[2] *Vide* "Circular for Meeting at House of Commons", p. 87.

121. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 7, 1906

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 6th instant, with reference to my request for an interview with Lord Elgin on the position of British Indians in Natal. I have no desire to open the whole position, but if His Lordship would be graciously pleased to grant me an interview, I shall be able to show the inner working of the Natal legislation. I was privileged to come into very close contact with the late Sir John Robinson[1] and the late Mr. Harry Escombe, who were the joint authors of the Immigration Restriction Act and the Dealers' Licenses Act. These two, and especially the latter, are the cause of very great and constant irritation. Very serious injustice, in my humble opinion, has often been done in the administration of the Licenses Act.

I invite His Lordship's attention to the fact that even after the Act was passed, there was a confidential despatch from Mr. Chamberlain to the Natal Ministry as to the operation of the Act. The despatch was partly published, and it stated that unless the municipal bodies exercised the arbitrary powers given to them in virtue of the Licenses Act in a reasonable manner, it might become necessary to amend the Act. I am aware that His Lordship's intervention as to these Acts can only be diplomatic, and it is such intervention I would like to invoke. The object of the interview is to the best of my ability to place the position so before His Lordship as to enlist His Lordship's active intervention so far as it may be consistent with the traditional policy of the Colonial Office. The new Bill[2] introduced by Mr. Ralph Tatham in the Legislative Assembly makes it all the more imperative for me to approach His Lordship.

[1] (1839-1903); first Prime Minister, and Colonial Secretary of Natal, 1893-7; *vide* Vol. I, p. 385.

[2] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", p. 60.

I regret exceedingly that the Authority referred to in my letter was not enclosed with it: it was an oversight, for which I beg to be excused. I have now sent it through Mr. Ritch, the Secretary to the Transvaal Deputation. As I have not kept a copy of the Authority, may I ask you to let me have one.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 179, Vol. 239/Ind.; also a photostat of the office copy: S. N. 4506

122. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 7, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Sir Lepel Griffin was very strongly of opinion that you should join the deputation that waits on Lord Elgin tomorrow at 3 p.m. I forgot at the time to tell him of the objection you raised to your joining the deputation. However, as I promised Sir Lepel that I would let you know, I am writing this. I beg to enclose herewith copy of the Representation and precis of the Ordinance for your information.

Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.
MEREDITH
GLOUCESTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4507

123. LETTER TO J. H. POLAK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 7, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

This introduces to you Mr. Ruthnam. You can make your appointment with him for taking him to the City of London College,

as also for putting him into the boarding house, and you may enter into a long chat with him to enable you to see his capabilities.

Yours sincerely,

J. H. POLAK, ESQ.
28, GROSVENOR ROAD
CANONBURY, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4508

124. MEETING AT HOUSE OF COMMONS[1]

A meeting of more than a hundred Members of the House of Commons, drawn from the Liberal, Labour and Nationalist Parties, was addressed by Gandhiji and Mr. Ally in the Grand Committee Room of the House.

[LONDON,
November 7, 1906]

...Mr. Gandhi said that in 1885 British Indians were described in documents which passed between the Republican Government and the British Government as 'filthy vermin and persons without souls'. They were then under great disabilities; they could not hold landed property, except in Locations that might be set apart for them for sanitary purposes, and they were required to register themselves and pay a fee to the Transvaal Government. Lord Derby tried to mitigate their grievances, and Mr. Chamberlain afterwards wrote a strong despatch to the Boer Government about British Indians, whom he described as honourable men and an asset of great importance to the Transvaal. The result of this was that British Indians went about the country as free citizens, and there was absolutely no restriction upon their movements. Recently a new Ordinance had been passed and British Indian subjects were classed with Asiatics and were treated in a most degrading manner. ...

The Times, 8-11-1906

[1] Several members spoke. Sir Henry Cotton, the Chairman of the meeting, said that, under this Ordinance, British Indians were placed under the surveillance of the police in a manner which could not be differentiated from the treatment given in England to prisoners who were released from jail. Mr. Ally appealed in the name of Christianity and humanity for the support of British Members of Parliament in freeing Indians from a degrading law. Sir Charles Dilke said that it was notorious that there was a great jealousy of Indians because they made such admirable shopkeepers and medical men. Mr. Joseph Walton, Mr. Harold Cox and Mr. Higham supported a proposal to sign a memorial to the Prime Minister regarding the status of British Indians in the Transvaal. Sir Henry Cotton summed up the feelings of the meeting by saying that the question had become one of Imperial importance and had thus been taken out of the realm of party politics. A resolution supporting the objectives of the Deputation was then unanimously adopted.

125. *DRAFT PETITION TO LORD ELGIN*[1]

LONDON,
[Before *November 8, 1906*]

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED, RESIDING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, REPRESENTING WHOLESALE HOUSES IN SOUTH AFRICA

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That your Petitioners are all London wholesale Shipping Firms and Merchants, having branches in, or in connection with, South Africa.

Most of your Petitioners have come into direct contact with British Indian Merchants in South Africa, including the Transvaal.

From their experience of British Indian Merchants in the Transvaal your Petitioners are in a position to state that the British Indian Merchants in the Transvaal are on the whole an honest and honourable body of men, and their connection with them has always been of a most satisfactory nature.

In your Petitioners' opinion their presence in the Transvaal is a distinct gain to the Transvaal community in general. At the very least their presence there tends to the distinct benefit of the Transvaal community by reducing the cost of living expenses to those who can least afford to pay the exorbitantly high prices and profits demanded by the European firms.

Your Petitioners have read the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, and in your Petitioners' opinion the Ordinance will submit British Indians in the Transvaal to totally unnecessary indignity and hardship.

Your Petitioners desire to associate themselves entirely with the sentiments expressed in the Memorial submitted to His Excellency the Governor of the Transvaal by Mr. William Hosken and other notable European residents in the Transvaal in the month of April, 1903.[2]

[1] The petition was clearly drafted by Gandhiji. It was enclosed with the "Letter to S. Hollick", of November 8, p. 113.

[2] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 296-7.

In your Petitioners' humble opinion, while it is desirable that immigration of British Indians should be regulated in order to allay popular prejudice, they think that it should be along the Cape or Natal lines, and should not savour of class distinction.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that Your Lordship will be pleased to advise His Majesty to disallow the Ordinance above mentioned, or to grant such relief as will adequately protect the British Indians who have settled in the Transvaal.

And for this act of justice and mercy, your Petitioners shall ever pray, etc.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4510

126. BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL[1]

November 8, 1906

By the time this is in print Lord Elgin will have received what may be described as a very strong deputation representing all manner of opinion, and including well-known Members of Parliament and Anglo-Indians of great experience. It is remarkable how the Delegates from the Transvaal have received support and sympathy from all quarters. A most striking illustration perhaps was afforded by the meeting of the Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist Members of the House of Commons at the Grand Committee Room on Wednesday last under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Cotton, the Member for Nottingham East. The attendance was fully one hundred. The Members gave the Delegates a very sympathetic hearing, and many of them showed their active sympathy by making short speeches for or questioning the Delegates. A resolution supporting the objects of the Delegation was unanimously adopted. One of the Members even wanted to know why the Conservative Members had not been invited to the meeting. Sir Charles Dilke, who has consistently championed the cause of British Indians in South Africa, immediately interposed that it was an oversight and that this was a question in which they could certainly secure Conservative co-operation. They and the Liberal Parliament always joined the the Conservatives in securing redress for their Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa.

[1] This statement shows direct knowledge of happenings both in the Transvaal and England; it was moreover found among Gandhiji's papers. These facts would suggest that the statement was drafted by him.

Mr. Scott, who was the organizer of the meeting, remarked that the only reason why the Circular Letter[1] was confined to the Liberal, Labour, and Nationalist Members was that the Government that was being approached by the Delegates was a Liberal Government, and it was considered only right that the meeting should take the form it did. At the same time they would undoubtedly ask for and be willing to secure the co-operation of Conservative Members.

Sir Henry Cotton added that on the deputation were represented very staunch Conservatives.

These proceedings take the question out of party politics, and as Sir Charles Dilke has often said, it becomes a question of Imperial importance. These proceedings ought to strengthen the hands of Lord Elgin and encourage him to veto the Ordinance, or at least to appoint a commission on which the Delegates lay so much stress.

The Representation submitted to Lord Elgin exhaustively deals with the facts of the case, and shows clearly how unnecessary the legislation is, and how much harder it is than Law 3 of 1885. It is undoubtedly not an amendment, but a new law, making class distinctions of a very offensive nature. The prayer of the Delegates is very reasonable. They ask Lord Elgin to sanction legislation along the Cape or Natal line[s], leaving it open to British Indian settlers to import assistants and such other men as may be required for attention to their businesses. If such legislation be passed it would remove all fear of an unrestricted Asiatic influx. There would then be no necessity for the espionage contemplated by the Ordinance.

That the lot of the British Indians is hard enough without any such legislation is shown by a recent prosecution of an Asiatic child[2] under eleven years of age for entering the Colony of the Transvaal in the company of his father. We cannot do better than quote the words of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal who quashed the conviction of the child:

> The conviction is wholly bad. Here is a child of between ten and eleven years of age, charged not with an ordinary Common-Law offence, but with the offence of entering the Transvaal by means of a permit improperly obtained. It does appear—at any rate, there is evidence on the record to show—that the thumb-mark of this infant was pressed on a permit belonging to someone else. But this child was not *doli capax* at all. The child was put into the box, and said he did not know what a permit was, and had never seen one; and I dare say he was speaking the truth. There can be no doubt that the conviction cannot be sustained for one moment.
>
> The administrative order, of course, still remains. The Magistrate has seriously ordered this infant to leave the Transvaal at the expiration of the term of imprisonment, or upon a certain date, whichever happens sooner.

[1] *Vide* "Circular for Meeting at House of Commons", p. 87.

[2] Mahomed Hafeji Moosa; *vide* Vol. V, p. 452.

If the child does not go away—and I do not suppose he can go away unless someone takes him—he will then, possibly, be brought up before the Magistrate as a criminal. But I trust that course will not be taken by the authorities. I cannot understand why this case was taken up at all. It is a very important matter. This child is an Indian; but the same would apply to any white child (not one of the exempted classes under the Ordinance) entering the Transvaal; and if it applies to a child of eleven, why not to a child in arms! Surely it was never intended that such an administrative order should be made, in circumstances of this kind. This legislation is sufficiently open to criticism without that. If there is anything which can bring the administration of such a law into ridicule and contempt it is administration conducted on the lines of this case. I trust we shall hear nothing more about the administrative order.

We had only the other day an example of what *The Rand Daily Mail* described as "War on Women"[1]. In the above case, we have an instance of what *Indian Opinion* describes to be "War on Infants". Cases such as these call for prompt amelioration, and not for greater severity. The doctrine of relying on men on the spot will be carried to ridiculous extremes if Lord Elgin does not heed the representations made to him on behalf of British Indians in the Transvaal.

Very strong support is given to the delegation by a personal appeal[2] of five British Indians addressed to Lord Elgin in connection with the Ordinance. They are all students from South Africa studying for the Bar or for Medicine, born or brought up in South Africa, and in their words, "South Africa is more our home than India. Even our mother tongue is English, our parents having brought us up to speak that language from our infancy. Three of us are Christians, one a Mahomedan, and one a Hindoo." Are these men, after they have become barristers or doctors, on their return to South Africa, to be debarred from entering the Transvaal, or are they to carry "tickets of leave" as Sir Henry Cotton described the passes to be issued under the new Ordinance? If such legislation is to be the vogue in the Colonies, it would be a mercy not to allow the British Indians to receive a liberal education in England at all, because a memory of the good times passed by them in England would only enhance the sting of humiliation to be undergone by them in Colonies which are British only in name and un-British in conduct.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 4511

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 451.

[2] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80.

127. LETTER TO S. DIGBY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Sir Muncherji gave me your name as the friend of the cause of British Indians in the Transvaal.

I venture to enclose herewith copies of several Representations forwarded to Lord Elgin, whom, as you know, the Deputation meets to-day at 3 p.m.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

SAM DIGBY, ESQ.[1]
NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB
LONDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4525

128. MEMORIAL TO LORD ELGIN

[LONDON,
November 8, 1906][2]

MY LORD,

Mr. Ally, my colleague, and I have to tender our respectful thanks to Your Lordship for receiving this Deputation. The task before Mr. Ally and myself is, I know, exceedingly delicate and difficult, supported though we are by friends who have always helped us in our troubles, and representing different schools of politics, and who have come to give us the weight of their influence at considerable trouble to themselves, especially on a day like this.

Your Lordship is aware that there was a great Indian Mass Meeting held at which resolutions were adopted. The text of these resolutions was cabled to Your Lordship[3] and in reply[4] Your Lordship was pleased

[1] At one time Assistant Editor, *The Times of India*; Secretary of Indian section of Royal Society of Arts; he interested himself in the problems of uncovenanted civil services of India.

[2] This was presented when the Deputation met Lord Elgin on November 8, 1906.

[3] The only cable available on the subject does not contain the text of the resolutions but only requests the withholding of Imperial sanction to the Ordinance. *Vide* Vol. V, p. 416.

[4] For a summary, *vide* Vol. V, p. 456.

to send a cablegram informing the British Indian Association that Your Lordship had approved of the draft Ordinance in that it gave some measure of relief to British Indians. We, who are on the spot and to whom the Ordinance applies, think, with the greatest deference, that, instead of granting relief, it imposes on British Indians in the Transvaal hardships to which, so far as I am aware, there is no parallel in Colonial legislation. The Ordinance assumes that every Indian is capable of passing his permit to someone else so that he may unlawfully enter the Colony. It, therefore, violates the time-honoured maxim that every one is to be presumed to be innocent until he is found to be guilty. This Ordinance condemns every Indian as guilty and leaves no room for him even to show that he is innocent. It has been called an amendment of Law 3 of 1885. With the greatest respect I submit that it is no amendment whatsoever of the Law, but that it is a totally new Ordinance accentuating colour prejudice in the most offensive manner. The system of passes that the Ordinance introduces is unknown, so far as British Indians are concerned, in any other part of the British Dominions, and it undoubtedly reduces Indians to a level lower than that of the Kaffirs. The reason for such legislation is said to be that there is a large unauthorized influx of British Indians and that the British Indian community or the British Indian Association are making an attempt to introduce without authority a large number of Indians into the Colony; in other words, that the community is engaged in a criminal breach of the Peace Preservation Ordinance, and that it is in order to prevent such an attempt that the Ordinance has been passed. It is, therefore, a measure of punishment. One often hears of punitive measures being adopted in connection with communities some members of which have committed grave political crimes or severe breaches of the Common Law of the country. In this instance, the whole community is to be punished in a degrading manner for a crime against a statute restrictive of the liberty of the subject which is misapplied to British Indians, and a crime which the community has stoutly repudiated.

Such, in the humble opinion of the Indian community, is the Ordinance about which we are approaching Your Lordship. There are three things which are stated to be introduced into the Ordinance in the nature of relief to the British Indians—the remission of the £3 fee; but we have shown that there is no remission at all, as all who are at present in the Transvaal have paid the £3. The second is the authority which is given to the Government by the Ordinance to issue temporary permits, but this again is no relief because it is superfluous. Such authority has always existed and been exercised at the discretion of the Government: there are today British Indians holding temporary permits.

There is again the relief to holders of temporary permits from the operation of the Liquor Ordinance. That relief the British Indians never asked for, and so far as it is applicable to them, it is interpreted as a wanton insult.

There is one thing that the Ordinance undoubtedly rectifies, and that is by restoring [it] to the heirs of the late Aboo Baker Ahmed who held land in his own name before 1885. This is individual in character, and I have no doubt that if the price the heirs have to pay for getting land which is theirs by right be the degradation of the whole Indian community of the Transvaal, I am sure that even the heirs themselves would not care to pay it, and the community will certainly never feel in any way thankful for such relief. It will be a most surprising thing if, after repeated promises and pledges, an Ordinance of this nature is countenanced by Your Lordship. I shall venture to quote extracts[1] from Mr. Chamberlain's despatches, also from those of Lord Milner and Mr. Lyttelton, to show what they intended to do after the war. . . .[1]

It is common knowledge that before the War the British Government used every effort possible that Law 3 of 1885 should be repealed. The condition today is changed, but we had hoped that it would change for the better, seeing that there is no foreign government to deal with, but our own Government. Unhappily, we are now in the position of strangers in what may be called our own land. We have always endeavoured to conciliate prejudice and with that view we have made suggestions which have been adopted in the self-governing Colonies. Failing, however, the adoption of these suggestions, we have asked that a commission of enquiry may be appointed. This is the time-honoured British custom. Whenever a new step has been taken, a royal commission has preceded it. The latest instance, perhaps, is that of the Aliens Act in the United Kingdom. Before any steps were taken, a commission investigated the charges made against the aliens, and into the question of the adequacy of the existing laws, and into the question as to what new laws were necessary. We have asked for a similar commission regarding the British Indians in the Transvaal. We believe that we are entitled to this, in view of the very grave charges I have referred to. We have been asking all these years for bread, but we have received stones in the shape of this Ordinance. We have therefore every reason to hope that Your Lordship will not countenance the legislation above described.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 4513

[1] The extracts, which are not available, were presumably to be inserted here.

129. LETTER TO S. HOLLICK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR MR. HOLLICK,

Many thanks for your note. I am sorry, you were ill yesterday. I enclose herewith Memorial[1] for Lord Elgin. If you think that any change is necessary, you may make it and I will have the Memorial re-typed: otherwise it can be circulated as an original copy.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4526

130. DEPUTATION TO LORD ELGIN[2]

CONFIDENTIAL

COLONIAL OFFICE,
Thursday, November 8, 1906

PROCEEDINGS AT A DEPUTATION TO THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF ELGIN ON BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen:

Lord Stanley of Alderley
Mr. H. O. Ally } Delegates from [the] Transvaal
Mr. Gandhi }
Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.
Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P.
Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I.
Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., M.P.
Mr. Naoroji
Sir M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.
Mr. Ameer Ali
Mr. Harold Cox, M.P.
Mr. Thornton, C.S.I.

[1] The reference is to "Draft Petition to Lord Elgin", pp. 106-7. *Vide* also "Letter to S. Hollick", p. 101.

[2] While our source is the minutes in Colonial Office records, incomplete versions are found in Gandhiji's typewritten office copy S. N. 4512 and also in *The South African Blue Book*, C. D. 3308.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I should just like to say, gentlemen, that I made this interview a private one because I thought, from experience of other meetings of the same sort, we should be better able to discuss the matter friendlily across the table without the presence of public reporters; at the same time, I am quite aware that the deputation wish to go into matters of some detail, and therefore I have made arrangements for a note to be taken so that anything which may be said shall be on record.

Then I should like to say one other word. I recognize among the deputation some of those with whom I have had the pleasure of working in India, and I hope they have explained to the deputation, if it was necessary, that my sentiments would all be in favour of doing anything I could for the interests of British Indians. ('Hear! Hear!')

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, what you have just said makes my duty in introducing the Delegates more easy. We are very much obliged to your Lordship for admitting this deputation of men who are all known to you as gentlemen connected with India, who have been most of them in India themselves, and are all interested in India, and we are very glad, without any question of party feeling—because all sides are represented in this deputation—to introduce to you the Delegates from South Africa: Mr. Gandhi, who is, as your Lordship is aware, a barrister of the Inner Temple and a man who, in the late Boer war and in the late rising in Natal, has done most excellent work for the country in organizing ambulance corps and in other ways—he practises now in Johannesburg—and Mr. Ally, his colleague, who is the representative of the Mohammedan part of the Indian community in the Transvaal, a merchant of very good position and the founder, and I believe the Chairman, of the Islamic Association in the Transvaal. To those gentlemen I propose to leave any details of the Ordinance which has now been passed and which we are about to ask His Majesty's Government to veto. But I would like to say a few words in explaining the matter now before the Colonial Office, and I shall take up the time of your Lordship only for a few minutes.

I have been asked to present this deputation principally, I fancy, because I happen to be the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, of which your Lordship is a distinguished Vice-President, but the question which the East India Association has so often urged upon successive Colonial Secretaries and Secretaries for India and Viceroys of India is not directly concerned in our presence here today. The bed-rock, as your Lordship is aware, of the East India Association's protests [is] that all well-conducted, loyal, and industrious British subjects, whatever their race or colour, should receive equal rights in all Colonies of the British Empire; that is the bed-rock of justice which has always been refused in the past, but on which the East India Association, which is represented largely here today, begs to continue to rely and from which it must continue to make its protest. That, my Lord, is not precisely the question which this deputation desires to put forward this afternoon; they are not making any of those large claims which we have before made; they only ask that a certain Ordinance applying to the Transvaal alone may not receive the sanction of His Majesty's Government.

A few words only are necessary on this point. During the Boer Government the British Indians were treated with considerable harshness, but their immigration into the Transvaal was not prohibited, and with the exception of a fee for a licence for adult traders, they were not interfered with. But their position was an exceedingly uncomfortable one, and many protests were raised which, we understood, when the country fell into the hands of the English, would be redressed. So far from being redressed, their position is made worse and the rules for registration and identification were made exceedingly more rigorous. The Ordinance which has now been passed makes, whatever people in South Africa may choose to say, their position infinitely worse and more degrading. It may be said that in the Transvaal these rules are for the benefit of the Indians, but the toad under the harrow knows where the harrow grips him,

and the Indians in the Transvaal consider that the new regulations of this Ordinance are a grievance and an insult which is almost too grievous to be borne; and I for one most strongly support their claim and their protest.

Under this Ordinance every one in the Transvaal is exposed to the most rigorous investigation; the impressions of his fingers are to be recorded on every pass; no one is allowed in—man, woman or child—without registration of so rigorous a character that has been unheard of in any civilized country within my recollection. Under this regulation every Indian in the Transvaal, whether an adult male, whether a woman, or whether a child, and even babes in arms will be obliged to be registered under such conditions as ordinarily apply only to convicts in a civilized country; and evasion or ignorance or even forgetfulness on this point is punished by crushing fines, by imprisonment with hard labour, by expulsion, and by ruin. You, my Lord, who have been Viceroy of India, and whose sympathy is with the country, must know that legislation of this sort is unheard of under the British flag; indeed, today in Europe, I may say without any exaggeration, that, with the exception of the Russian legislation against the Jews, there is no legislation comparable to this on the continent of Europe; and in England, if we wanted a similar case, we should have to go back to the time of the Plantagenets.

And against whom is this legislation directed? Against the most orderly, honourable, industrious, temperate race in the world, people of our own stock and blood, with whom our own language has as a sister-language been connected. There is no occasion, in the presence of people connected with India, who know its history, to say what the Indian community is today; it is almost an insult to refer to it.

And by whom is this legislation instigated? I am told, and I believe it, that it is not by the best part of the British community in the Transvaal, who are, I believe, in favour of giving all reasonable privileges to British Indian subjects; it is by the alien foreign population in the Transvaal who are perhaps to some extent inconvenienced by Indian traders who are so very much more temperate and industrious than themselves. It does not come from the English. The legislation is prompted, and the prejudice against the Indians is encouraged, by the aliens, by Russian Jews, by Syrians, by German Jews, by every class of aliens, the very off-scourings of the international sewers of Europe. The English residents, against whom I do not wish to say one word of criticism, are a part, in my mind, of the Transvaal, but the Transvaal is only a Colony by conquest, not by settlement, and it is the aliens who are opposed to this honourable Indian community.

My Lord, I do not wish to take up more of your time, but what I wish to say is that today we ask you, as representing His Majesty's Government, and as we know your sympathies are with the Indians, over whom you have ruled with so much distinction, to procure the vetoing of this Ordinance. No large questions are brought before you today by this deputation. They are not asking for political rights; they are not asking for gratitude for their great and devoted services in the Transvaal war where so many of them lost their lives in their devotion to England, doing as courageous work as any one of the members of the armies which were sent by England, by Australia, or by Canada. Those services have not been recognized; on the contrary, they have been ignored and further burdens have been placed upon them. We ask for nothing today except the merest barest justice. We ask that the whips which the Boers have inflicted upon us may not be changed into scorpions wielded by the British Government.

I would say in conclusion that we hope everything from the present Government, and for this reason, that the grievances of the Chinese have received the utmost sympathy at the hands of the Government, but, so far as this deputation is concerned,

the Chinese and other alien nations do not count. We ask not for the Chinese, but for our own fellow-subjects, and we ask that justice, if not generosity, may be dealt out to them and that your Lordship will save them from insult and oppression.

It was at your Lordship's request that this deputation was a small one; it might have been indefinitely extended. This is a test case—a question of going forward or going back. Your Lordship, as a past Viceroy of India, must know that the attention of the whole of India, 300 millions of Indians, is intent today upon the decision which will be given in this test case, and I beg your Lordship to think and to remember that, besides the Indians of Indian birth, against whom the insults of this Ordinance are directed, there are the whole body of Indian officials, to which I and most of the members of this deputation belong, who are insulted with the natives of India. Is it to be supposed that we who have worked with, we who have governed this province of India under your Lordship and under your predecessors and successors, have been governing degraded creatures who are placed lower even than the Zulus and Russian Jews? No, my Lord. We trust to you to do what you can to defend the people whom you have governed so well. And I will beg you to excuse any exciting warmth in my way of speaking, because I assure you that any warmth in my words is very much exceeded by the feeling of shame and resentment which fills my heart at the way in which the British Indians of the Transvaal are treated today by the settlers (I will not call them Colonists) of that country.

MR. GANDHI: Both Mr. Ally and I are very much obliged to your Lordship for giving us the opportunity of placing the British Indian position before you. Supported though we are by distinguished Anglo-Indian friends and others, I feel that the task before Mr. Ally and myself is very difficult, because your Lordship, in reply to the cablegram[1] sent to you through Lord Selborne, after the great British Indian mass meeting in Johannesburg, was pleased to inform the British Indian Association, that, although you would be pleased to give us every opportunity of stating our case, no good purpose was likely to be served as your Lordship had approved of the principle of the Ordinance, in that it gave some measure of relief to the British Indian community, though not as much as His Majesty's Government would desire. We who are the men on the spot and who are affected by the Ordinance in question have ventured to think otherwise. We have felt that this Ordinance does not give us any relief whatsoever. It is a measure which places British Indians in a far worse position than before and makes the lot of the British Indian well-nigh intolerable. Under the Ordinance the British Indian is assumed to be a criminal. If a stranger, not knowing the circumstances of the Transvaal, were to read the Ordinance, he would have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that an Ordinance of that nature which carries so many penalties and wounds the British Indian community on all sides, must only apply to thieves or a gang of robbers. I venture, therefore, to think that, although Sir Lepel Griffin has used strong[2] language in

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 456.
[2] The Original has "strange".

connection with the Ordinance, he has not at all exaggerated, but every word of it is justified. At the same time I beg to state that the Ordinance, as amended, does not apply to British Indian females. The draft Ordinance undoubtedly applied to females also, but owing to the very strong protest made by the British Indian Association, and by Mr. Ally separately as Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, pointing out the great violence that would have been done to female sanctity, if I may say so, the Ordinance was amended so as to take females out of its operation. But it applies to all adult males and even to children, in that the parents or guardians have to take out registration certificates for their children or wards as the case may be.

It is a fundamental maxim of the British law that every one is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty, but the Ordinance reverses the process, and brands every Indian as guilty, and leaves no room for him to prove his innocence. There is absolutely nothing proved against us and yet every British Indian, no matter what his status is, is to be condemned as guilty and not treated as an innocent man. My Lord, an Ordinance of this nature [it] is not possible for British Indians to reconcile themselves to. I do not know that such an Ordinance is applicable to free British subjects in any part of His Majesty's Dominions.

Moreover, what the Transvaal thinks today the other Colonies think tomorrow. When Lord Milner sprang his Bazaar Notice[1] on British Indians, the whole of South Africa rang with the Bazaar idea. The term "Bazaar" is a misnomer; it has been really applied to Locations where trade is utterly impossible. However, a proposal was seriously made, after a Bazaar Notice, by the then Mayor of Natal[2], Mr. Ellis Browne, that Indians should be relegated to Bazaars.[3] There is not the slightest reason why this Ordinance also, if it ever becomes law, should not be copied by the other parts of South Africa. The position today in Natal is that even indentured Indians are not required to carry passes as contemplated by the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance; nor are there any penalties attached to the non-carrying of passes as are defined in the Ordinance under discussion. We have already shown in our humble representation that no relief has been granted by this Ordinance, because the remission of the £3 fee, referred to by Mr. Duncan, is quite illusory, because all we British Indians resident in the Transvaal who are obliged to pay £3 under Law 3 of 1885, and those who, under Lord Selborne's promise, are likely to be allowed to re-enter the Transvaal, have paid the £3 already.

[1] *Vide* Vol. IV, pp. 46-9.
[2] Mayor of Durban.
[3] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 238.

The authority to issue temporary permits is also superfluous in that the Government have already exercised the power, and there are today in the Transvaal several Indians in possession of temporary permits. They are liable to be expelled from the Colony on the expiry of their permits.

The relief under the Liquor Ordinance[1] is, British Indians feel, a wanton insult. So much was this recognized by the local Government that they immediately assured the Indians that it was not intended for British Indians at all, but for somebody else. We have no connection with anybody else, and we have always endeavoured to show that the British Indians ought to be treated as British subjects, and ought not to be included with the general body of Asiatics with respect to whom there may be a need for some restrictions which ought not to apply to British Indians as British subjects.

There remains one more statement that is in connection with the land owned by the late Aboobaker.[2] That land should belong to the heirs by right, but under the interpretation reluctantly put upon it by the Supreme Court, that it is only individual in character and does not touch the community, the land cannot be transmitted to the heirs. The Ordinance is intended to rectify the error, but, as I had the honour to represent the heirs, I ventured to think that even they would not consent to pay for getting this relief at the price, in the nature of this Ordinance, for British Indians; and certainly the Indian community can never exchange for the relief given to their heirs of the land of Aboobaker an Ordinance of this nature, which requires them to pay so great a price for what is really their own. So that under the Ordinance in that respect again there is absolutely no relief. As I said before, we shall be, under the Ordinance, branded as criminals.

My Lord, the existing regulation is severe enough. I hold in my hands returns from the Court of the Magistrate at Volksrust. Over 150 successful prosecutions of Indians attempting to enter the Transvaal have taken place during the years 1905 and 1906. All these prosecutions, I venture to say, are by no means just. I venture to believe that if these prosecutions were gone into you would see that some of them were absolutely groundless.

So far as the question of identification is concerned the present laws are quite enough. I produce to your Lordship the registration certificate held by me, and it will show how complete it is to establish identification. The present law can hardly be called an amendment. I produce before your Lordship a registration receipt held by my colleague, Mr. Ally, from the Transvaal Government. Your Lordship will see that

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 402.
[2] *ibid.*, pp. 231-2.

it is merely a receipt for £3. The registration under the present Ordinance is of a different type. When Lord Milner wished to enforce Law 3 of 1885 he suggested new registration. We protested against it, but on his strong advice, as a voluntary act, we allowed ourselves to be newly registered, and hence the form produced before your Lordship. At the time that registration was undertaken, Lord Milner stated emphatically that it was a measure once for all, and that it would form a complete title to residence by those who held such registration certificates. Is all this now to be undone? Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the Punia case[1], wherein a poor Indian woman, in company with her husband, was torn away from her husband, and was ordered by the magistrate to leave the country within seven hours. Fortunately, relief was granted in the end, as the matter was taken up in time. A boy under 11 years was also arrested and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 or to go to gaol for three months, and at the end of it to leave the country. In this case again the Supreme Court has been able to grant justice. The conviction was pronounced to be wholly bad, and Sir James Rose-Innes stated that the Administration would bring itself to ridicule and contempt if such a policy was pursued.[2] If the existing legislation is strong enough and severe enough to thus prosecute British Indians, is it not enough to keep out of the Colony British Indians who may attempt fraudulently to enter it?

It has been stated that the reason for passing the Ordinance is that there is an unauthorized influx of British Indians into the Transvaal on a wholesale scale, and that there is an attempt on the part of the Indian community to introduce Indians in such a manner. The last charge has been, times without number, repudiated by the Indian community, and the makers of the charge have been challenged to prove their statement. The first statement has also been denied.

I ought to mention one thing also, that is, the fourth resolution that was passed at the British Indian mass meeting.[3] It was passed by the meeting solemnly, prayerfully, and in all humility, and the whole of that great meeting decided by that resolution that, if this Ordinance ever came to be enforced, and we did not get relief, the British Indians, rather than submit to the great degradation involved in it, would go to gaol; such was the intensity of the feeling aroused by the Ordinance. We have hitherto suffered much in the Transvaal and in other parts of South Africa, but the hardship has been tolerable; we have not considered it necessary to travel 6,000 miles to place the position before the Imperial Government. But the straining point has been reached by the

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 450-2.
[2] *ibid.*, pp. 452 and 455.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 423.

Ordinance, and we felt that we should in all humility exhaust every resource even to the extent of sending a Deputation to wait on your Lordship.

The least, therefore, that in my humble opinion is due to the British Indian community is to appoint a commission as suggested in the humble representation submitted to your Lordship. It is a time-honoured British custom that, whenever an important principle is involved, a commission is appointed before a step is taken. The question of alien immigration into the United Kingdom is a parallel case. Charges somewhat similar to the charges against the Indian community were made against the aliens who entered the United Kingdom. There was also the question of the adequacy of the existing legislation and the necessity for further legislation; all these three points were referred to a commission before any step was taken. I, therefore, venture to think that a commission should be appointed, and the whole question thrashed out before any drastic measures are taken.

I venture, therefore, to hope that your Lordship will see your way to grant this small measure of relief to the British Indian community.

MR. H. O. ALLY: My Lord, we are very much obliged to you for the patient hearing your Lordship is giving to the deputation. Mr. Gandhi has stated the case fully before your Lordship, and I do not wish to add much to what has already been said. I am not a lawyer, but as a layman, and as a resident of old standing in the Transvaal, I do wish to submit to your Lordship that the hardships that the present Ordinance would inflict upon us are unbearable. And I can assure your Lordship that, immediately the Ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council of the Transvaal, my fellow-countrymen felt, and felt very keenly, to think that such laws can be passed under a British Government. It is what I should never have believed years ago.

Our lot is today infinitely worse than under the Boer regime; we were able to get protection from the British Government during that time. Are we now, under the same Government, to be persecuted?

When aliens of all classes are, at the very moment that the Ordinance is introduced, pouring into the Transvaal, and when they enjoy all the rights and privileges granted to British subjects, my countrymen, who are always to the fore for the defence of the Empire, are suffering these serious disabilities and the disabilities threatened by the Ordinance. Today in India the frontier is guarded by my fellow-countrymen, who shoulder the rifle in defence of the Empire; and it is very grievous that they should have to suffer such misery, and that there should be class legislation against them of this type.

I appeal for justice, and I appeal to your Lordship in the name of the British traditions, that you will be pleased to remove the disability that the Ordinance will place upon us, by vetoing it, or at least by granting a commission. We are loyal British subjects, and as such we are entitled to the fullest protection. We have not asked for, and we do not now ask for, political rights; we are content that the white man should be predominant in the Transvaal; but we do feel that we are entitled to all the other ordinary rights that a British subject should enjoy.

SIR HENRY COTTON: I wish to say one word, my Lord, if I may. I am here not only as a retired Indian official, like many distinguished men I see around me, but also as a Member of the present Parliament, and as chairman of a meeting which sat

in the Grand Committee Room upstairs in the House of Commons attended by more than 100 members of the Liberal Party. I take this opportunity of saying that I deeply regret that the invitations to attend that meeting were not extended to both sides of the House. ('Hear! Hear!') It was an unfortunate oversight which we all regret. But that meeting, I say, was attended by 100 and more Members of the House of Commons, and their feeling was very strong indeed upon this subject; indeed, they went so far as to record a resolution that they sympathized with and supported the prayer of the petitioners. Since that meeting, my Lord, I have been brought in contact with many Members of the House of Commons who were not present at the meeting, gentlemen on both sides of the House. Many gentlemen on the opposite benches have also intimated to me that there is a complete sympathy with the attitude taken up by Messrs Gandhi and Ally on behalf of their fellow-subjects in the Transvaal.

I wish also in associating myself, as I do completely, with the observations which fell from Sir Lepel Griffin, to remind your Lordship that it was Lord Lansdowne, for whom we all have the greatest regard and respect, who, although he is the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, is at all events, as we know very well, a most liberal-minded statesman, who drew prominent attention in England to the grievances which the British Indians in the Transvaal suffered from under President Kruger's administration. Nothing, he said, roused so much indignation in his mind or so much anger as the ill-treatment which the British Indians received in South Africa. And he went further even in his speech—it was a speech delivered at Sheffield two or three weeks after the outbreak of the war—for he said that he regarded with grave anxiety the state of feeling which must inevitably exist in India when it was known that the British subjects of India in South Africa were so ill treated and ground down. And he pointed out the imperative duty of the British Government to improve their status and position.

Now, my Lord, that is a pledge which was given by the head of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and I appeal to you, my Lord, as the representative of a Liberal Government, in dealing with this matter in South Africa, that your duty is at least as decisive as [that] Lord Lansdowne claimed for himself a few years ago.

It is true that the people of India do feel this matter very deeply. It is true also that the British Indians in South Africa have greater grievances to complain of now than they had under the Dutch Government; and the climax has been reached in the passing of this Ordinance, of which Messrs Gandhi and Ally here so justly complain. Representing as I do a very influential and large section of the House of Commons and, I believe, the almost unanimous official feeling in India on the subject, I do trust that your Lordship will be able to give this petition your favourable consideration.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE: My Lord, I think the case has been so ably and clearly put before your Lordship that there is not the least occasion for me to go into any details, and if I feel called upon to address your Lordship for a very few minutes, it is simply on account of the interest I took in this question all through my ten and a half years' career in Parliament. I want to bring to your Lordship's notice a few points which perhaps may not be within your knowledge.

In complaining of the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa, I had opportunities of seeing your predecessors, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lyttelton, very often on the subject. My activity had taken the form at last of a long printed letter in which I detailed the whole narrative of the facts, and Mr. Lyttelton thereupon assured me that the case had been so fairly put, and the demands made were so reasonable, that he hoped to get some relief. I, on the other hand, knew what the local forces of opposition to a liberal policy on the part of any ministry of the Imperial

Government would be, and while I thanked him for his sympathetic answer, I told him it might be necessary to appoint a commission to enquire into the whole subject. Sir George Farrar, who represented the anti British Indian interest[s] in the Transvaal legislature, also happened at the same time, to suggest that the appointment of a commission would ventilate the matter, and might bring some solution of that very difficult problem. Thereupon I addressed Mr. Lyttelton again, accepting Sir George Farrar's offer, and matters were in that train, and I believe Mr. Lyttelton would have ultimately appointed a commission, but the Government, of which he was a member then, went out of office. Recognizing the very difficult position in which the whole question stands, I now urge that a commission might be appointed pending the report of which this Ordinance might at least be held in abeyance, so that you may have the benefit of judging of the whole question by the report of that commission.

I have only one word to add, my Lord. For five years your Lordship has been the custodian and guardian of Indian interests and the protector of their rights, during a memorable and distinguished viceroyalty. Today—as our leader, Sir Lepel Griffin, has well said—the eyes of all India are focussed upon the proceedings which are taking place in this room, and I am only expressing the sentiments of the 300 millions of people of India when I express the hope that your Lordship will, on account of the sympathy which you have shown, and which I believe you are ready to show, and of which, even on our entrance into this room, you assured us, allow no other consideration but that of justice to weigh with you, and will grant the prayer which these gentlemen have come all this long distance here to ask at your hands.

MR. REES: I am not going, my Lord, into the subject of the merits of the case; I think they were amply dealt with by Sir Lepel Griffin; nor am I going to speak of my interest in this subject, which I have often brought before Parliament myself. But when Sir Henry Cotton spoke of the meeting yesterday, I should like to say that it was not only a party meeting, but it was a meeting of part of a party, and that I do deprecate with all my heart and soul, in a matter which is of such serious importance, any endeavour to make any subject connected with British India a party subject. I do not think there can be a more serious matter than this very serious one upon which we have come before your Lordship, namely, the unfortunate manner in which our fellow-subjects have been treated in the Transvaal.

MR. HAROLD COX: My Lord, I am in a somewhat different position from most of the gentlemen here, because I am neither an ex-official of the Government of India, nor am I myself Indian by birth, but I did have the honour personally of serving in India for two years under a Native Prince, and I look back to that period of my life with the greatest pleasure. That is one special reason why I am here today. But at the back of my mind the real reason why I am here today is because I am English, and because I think this matter is a disgrace to my country. Our country was pledged when we went to war with the Transvaal to do justice to the British Indians. That justice has not been done, and I contend that it is not possible for the present Government, of which your Lordship is a part, to ride off on the plea that the Transvaal is a self-governing Colony. It is not a self-governing Colony. It is absolutely subject to your authority, and whatever is done by you today, or at any other time, is done not in the name of the Transvaal, but in the name of the English people, and in the name of the English people I protest against any injustice being done to British subjects.

MR. NAOROJI: I do not want to take up your Lordship's time, and after the able manner in which the whole subject has been laid before you, I would only join in the appeal that has been made to you on behalf of my fellow-subjects under the British flag. If there is one principle more important than another, it is that of the

freedom of British subjects under the British flag, and I do hope that the British Government, especially a Liberal Government, will stand upon that basis.

MR. AMEER ALI: Will your Lordship allow me to make one observaiion only? Perhaps my recent experience of India is the most recent of all. I venture to say this: that the feeling of India is very strong on this subject of the injury done to British Indians in the Transvaal, and it will be a serious mistake if the subject is put on one side. That is the only matter I want to present to your Lordship.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: In the first place, I would like to say that I entirely accept the position which Mr. Cox put upon me. I am responsible, no doubt, for the advice which is given in this matter and nobody else, and I do not wish to shirk my responsibility. In the second case, I wish also to express my adherence to what was said by Mr. Rees, Sir Henry Cotton and others that I regard this as no party question at all. Sir Henry Cotton quoted from Lord Lansdowne, but I have before me a despatch from the Colonial Secretary of the last Government from which I should like to read one paragraph: 'His Majesty's Government cannot believe that the British community in the Transvaal appreciate the true nature of the proposition which some of its members are pressing upon you. They, as Britons, are as jealous of the honour of the British name as ourselves, and even if a material sacrifice were necessary to vindicate that honour, I feel assured they would cheerfully make it. His Majesty's Government hold that it is derogatory to national honour to impose on resident British subjects disabilities against which we had remonstrated, and to which even the law of the late South African Republic rightly interpreted did not subject them, and they do not doubt that when this is perceived the public opinion of the Colony will not any longer support the demand which has been put forward.'

SIR HENRY COTTON: May I ask which Colonial Secretary that was?

THE EARL OF ELGIN: It was from Mr. Lyttelton to yourself, written in 1904. Now, I understand from the gentlemen who have come before me today that we are not here to discuss general sympathies, nor even are we to consider anything further than the rights which the British Indian community possessed in the past. They do not ask at this present moment for an extension of those rights. That limits the matter, as I think you wish it to be limited, to the question of this Ordinance itself.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: For the present, my Lord. We are going to fight the question hereafter.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Oh, yes; I am thinking of today, and the answer I have to give.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Yes.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I only make that observation in order that I may be precise in my answer. The question, therefore, is with reference to this Ordinance, and following up the remark I made just now about its being no party question, I hope you will accept it from me that it was no intention of the men at the head of the Transvaal Government—they distinctly stated so to me—that they had no intention whatever in the legislation they brought forward to do otherwise than to improve, rather than to make worse, the condition of the British Indian community. I am not saying that the subject is not perfectly open to your criticisms, but I wish you to accept from me that that was the intention with which this legislation was brought forward.

Now Mr. Gandhi explained that, in some cases, for instance in the case of the poll-tax, this concession, which was supposed to be given under the Ordinance, was illusory. I admit that I think theer was something in his statement that most of those who would come under the restriction I have just mentioned would probably have paid the £3. But at the same time, dealing with this as a matter of the status of the

British Indians in the Transvaal, I conceive that the Government might quite fairly have held that in removing the imposition of the poll-tax once for all they were, *pro tanto*, improving the status of the British Indians.

Then with regard to the question of permits or registration, we have seen one of the permits given under the Boer administration. It is merely a receipt for the money. The Boer administration in that respect, as well as in a good many others, was not so accurate as the administration which necessarily with our ideas obtains under the British Government; and, therefore, I am only stating the view which has been put before me; the view of the Government of the Transvaal is this: that as it stood under the rules of the Boer Government which they had inherited, there was great confusion, and there were great administrative difficutlies, and that consequently there was a considerable degree of friction, and also there arose considerable delay in the determination of cases of which I see traces in the petition itself. It was for that purpose, as I understand it, that the Government of the Transvaal proposed to substitute the form of registration, but according to their representations to me, there was no intention whatever of making that form of registration in any way more oppressive than the form of permits properly ministered.

And if I may, just for a moment—I do not want to go into all the details—follow this question of thumb marks, I think that thumb marks first came into notice prominently when Sir Henry Cotton and I were associated in the Government of India, under our friend Mr. Henry, who occupies a prominent position in the city now. No doubt the imposition of thumb marks was introduced in that case for the detection of criminals, but I do not know why the imposition of a thumb mark in itself should be a very debasing operation; in fact, as they say, it has always seemed to me a most marvellous thing that they say they can trace every thumb mark, there might be an advantage over the hieroglyphics which some of us call our signatures. And there is this fact I want just to mention, and to bring to the notice of Mr. Gandhi, that on the permit which he has handed to me, issued under the present Ordinance, there is a thumb mark already imposed under the present Ordinance in just the same way as it will be imposed under the new Ordinance.

MR. GANDHI: Only that that, as I said, is a purely voluntary act done by us on the advice and the instigation of Lord Milner. He asked us to do it.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Quite so; but still here is a certificate which is an official certificate, and it bears a thumb mark.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: It was affixed without prejudice.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I do not see why it should not be affixed to the registration certificate without prejudice.

SIR M. BHOWNAGGREE: Might I explain one thing? Whatever Lord Milner asked British Indians to do was done on the understanding that the whole question of the treatment of the community was the subject of consideration between the Colonial Secretary for the time being and Lord Milner and the local authorities, so that they might have submitted to Lord Milner's injunction in a respectful way and, as Lord Stanley just now said, without prejudice. But this imposes a sort of distinction between one subject and another in the Transvaal.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Do not suppose I am taking it further than this; I am only saying here is a document which is at present in use with a thumb mark, and it cannot be called debasing.

MR. GANDHI: It is the ten-finger mark.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Is it more debasing with ten fingers?

SIR HENRY COTTON: It is only required in the case of criminals.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I do not want to argue it, but I think there is just that much to be said.

Then there is one matter about registration; that is, that if the system of registration was carried out it would give a final and indefeasible title to those who are registered to their rights in the Transvaal. That is the position of the Transvaal Government on that matter. And as regards the carrying of a pass, and any oppressive use of the power of inspection, I am informed, and I have taken some trouble to ascertain it, that all that would be intended, so far as checking the Ordinance certificate is concerned, is that it would probably be inspected once a year. As regards any other casual demand for it, it would be, as I am told, exactly in the same position as this permit is, which, if I am right, may be demanded from anybody in the Transvaal. This is the position. I do not want to elaborate too much on this subject, I only wish to make this explanation, that those were the sort of reasons which the Government of the Transvaal put before me when they asked my assent to the introduction of the legislation on these grounds, and it is distinctly upon my apprehension that these modifications of the law would, in the long run, be for the benefit, and not for the oppression, of the British Indian community that I gave my assent to the introduction of that legislation.

Now, gentlemen, we are in the position that this is challenged. I think I ought to say, without in any way challenging the authority with which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ally come here as the representatives of a large meeting, that I have got telegrams from the Transvaal advising me of the forwarding of a petition from British Indians which they say had been largely signed, in opposition to the views which have been placed before me today; and with regard to the general feeling I have today received two more telegrams, I say two more, because there are a good many others from different municipalities in the country urging the passing of the Ordinance and so on. I cannot, therefore, entirely subscribe to what Sir Lepel Griffin said about the opposition, and the nature of the opposition to this matter. I regret it more than anybody in this room. I suppose there could be found, if not in the records of this office, at any rate, in the records of the India Office, despatches with my signature attached to them, protesting, in as strong language as has been used here, against the restrictions on British citizens, and I do not go back from one single word. But we have to recognize the fact that all over the world there are difficulties arising on the part of white communities, and we have to reckon with them. I do not say that they ought always to succeed; they certainly ought not to succeed in points of detail which would, in any way, involve oppression. But the fact of there being that sentiment has to be borne in mind when we have to deal with matters of this description.

I do not think I have much more to reply to. Reference has been made to the proposition towards the end of the petition, that at any rate there might be a postponement for the examination of the subject by a commission. That, no doubt, is an alternative which might be adopted; but I am not in a position today to say whether that is so or not. Indeed I think you will easily acknowledge that I paid you the best compliment when I did not endeavour to make up my mind until I had seen you, and heard what you have to say. That is my position. I have now heard what Mr. Gandhi had to say. I hope he has put before me, as fully as he desired, what he has come so far to say. I have heard the other gentlemen who have accompanied him. I will give the best consideration to their representations, and I shall think it my duty to make up my mind with the full responsibility which I have to assume.

MR. GANDHI: May I make one statement, my Lord, for one minute? I have listened with the very greatest attention, and with very great

obligation, to your Lordship's statement, but I must submit that the information placed before your Lordship on some points is not accurate, and I am in a position to refute that information by documentary evidence with regard to permits, as your Lordship used the term, in connection with the Ordinance of 1885, but this is not the occasion when I could do it. But if your Lordship will ask us to wait upon you we will do it. But that just shows that nothing short of a commission would place our position accurately before your Lordship.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, I beg, on behalf of the deputation, to express our best thanks for the exceedingly kind and courteous way in which you have received us, and the patience with which you have listened to what we had to say. We were assured before of your full sympathy in this matter, and knew it perfectly well.

(The deputation then withdrew.)

From a photostat of the printed original: India Office: Judicial and Public Records: 4287/06

131. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

With reference to the interview that Lord Elgin was pleased to grant us, we beg to enquire whether His Lordship will be pleased to acquaint us with the nature of the cablegram[1] of dissent received from some Indians in the Transvaal by His Lordship, as also with the names of the senders[2]. The information is of a somewhat startling nature and we might, if some further information were given to us, be able to render an explanation.

The Deputation this afternoon was intended more to strengthen His Lordship's hands in securing for the British Indians in the Transvaal fair and just treatment rather than to place before His Lordship a full statement. As we believe that some of the information received by His Lordship and used by him in his statement is not consistent with

[1] Alleging that the Deputationists did not represent the Indian community and that Gandhiji was a professional agitator, etc. *Vide* appendix.

[2] Dr. William Godfrey and C. M. Pillay.

the facts, may we request a brief private interview at which it will be possible for us to place the details more fully before him than we could at the Deputation that took place this afternoon.

We have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servants,
M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY

From a photostat of the original: Colonial Office Records: C. O. 291, Vol. 112/Ind.; also the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4515

132. LETTER TO MRS. G. BLAIR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR MADAM,

I thank you for your note. Mr. Ally, my co-Delegate, and I are very much obliged to you for your note of the 5th instant. I fear it will be impossible for us to stay here up to January much as we should like to be able to address a meeting in Liverpool. We are likely to leave, at the latest, on the 24th instant. I suppose, therefore, that the idea of a meeting in Liverpool must be dropped. However, both Mr. Ally and I are greatly obliged to you for your sympathy.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

MRS. G. BLAIR
HON. SECRETARY
LIVERPOOL INDIAN FAMINE FUND
21, CHURCH ROAD
WATERLOO
LIVERPOOL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4516

133. LETTER TO MRS. FREETH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR MRS. FREETH,

I am sending this letter on the off chance of its reaching you. If you receive it you will be surprised to know that I am in London. As my departure from Johannesburg was very hurried I forgot to take your address with me. I asked my clerk to send it, but have not yet

received it. I shall be exceedingly sorry if I have to leave London without seeing you. If you receive this letter, I hope you will let me know immediately your proper address.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. FREETH
LATE MRS. PILCHER
ST. JOHN'S WOOD ROAD
LONDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4517

134. LETTER TO MRS. BARNES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR MRS. BARNES,

If this letter finds you, I know it will surprise you. If you are staying in Westbourne Park Road kindly drop me a line and I shall make it a point to see you before I leave for Johannesburg, where I have been living now for some years.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. BARNES
36, WESTBOURNE PARK ROAD, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4518

135. LETTER TO BARNES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

MY DEAR BARNES,

I wonder if you are still in Victoria Street. If you are, please let me know, and I shall look you up. I am here only for a very short time. My regards to all, if you receive this letter.

Yours sincerely,

BARNES, ESQ.
c/o MESSRS TROUTBECK & BARNES
SOLICITORS
VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4520

136. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD SOLOMON

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 8, 1906

SIR,

We venture to address this informal letter to you on the strength of your having always been a friend of the Coloured people, using the term in its widest sense. Lord Elgin seemed to think, as you also thought, that a commission of enquiry was due to us. We venture respectfully to think that a word of approval from you of the idea of a commission would bring about, from our point of view, the desired result. The Ordinance proceeds on the assumption that every Indian is capable of abusing his permit or registration. From the statement made by Lord Elgin there is, in our humble opinion, no doubt that a great deal of inaccurate information has been placed before him. We think that nothing short of an impartial commission of enquiry can remove all the doubts and misapprehension that exist. May we appeal to you again for this small measure of justice, which it is in your power to grant.

Yours faithfully,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]

SIR RICHARD SOLOMON
REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4521

137. LETTER TO MESSRS CAMERON, KIM & CO.

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

MESSRS CAMERON, KIM & CO.
SOLICITORS
GRESHAM HOUSE
OLD BOND STREET, W.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received, by the last mail from Johannesburg, papers in connection with the action that is now pending in the Witwatersrand

High Court. Messrs Bell and Nixon have probably written to you in the matter.

It was agreed between them and me that evidence should be taken of Mr. Dalglish, during my stay in London, before a commissioner to be appointed by us by mutual agreement between us.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether evidence can be taken some time next week as I am likely to leave London if not Saturday week, certainly on the Saturday following.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4523

138. LETTER TO W. T. STEAD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I have arrived, as you may have seen from the papers, as a Deputation to wait upon Lord Elgin in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal, passed by the Legislative Council.

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the Representation submitted to Lord Elgin. Mr. Ally and I shall appreciate an interview with you and if you will kindly give us an appointment, we would wait on you and endeavour to present to you the present position of British Indians in the Transvaal.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

W. T. STEAD, ESQ.[1]
MOWBRAY HOUSE

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4524

[1] (1849-1912); journalist and publicist; founder-editor of *The Review of Reviews*

139. LETTER TO S. HOLLICK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 8, 1906

DEAR MR. HOLLICK,

I am much obliged to you for your note. I certainly accept the correction made by you, which is reasonable. I now return a fair copy[1] with the correction incorporated. I also send you an extra copy for yourself. I shall thank you to hurry forward the matter.

There was a very satisfactory interview with Lord Elgin; he was desirous that it should be kept private. I think that if sufficient effort is now made, relief will be granted.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4527

140. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES DILKE[2]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

SIR,

We beg to thank you for your presence at the deputation to Lord Elgin, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and for the great support you have given to our cause by your presence. We venture to hope that you will be good enough to continue to take an active interest in the matter until a full measure of justice has been secured for the British Indians in the Transvaal.

We beg to remain,
Your humble servants,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]

SIR CHARLES DILKE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4519

[1] "Draft Petition to Lord Elgin", pp. 106-7

[2] A note on the office copy shows that this letter was sent to "all the gentlemen who formed the deputation to Lord Elgin".

141. LETTER TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 9, 1906

DEAR SIR MUNCHERJI,

I do not overstate when I say that probably you will be responsible if some measure of success is gained by the Deputation. Immediately Mr. Ally and I went to Sir Lepel Griffin, he told us he had received your note and that he entirely agreed with you that the Deputation should wait on Mr. Morley.[1] He was most sympathetic and enthusiastic and this is no doubt due to you.

I am now sending [a letter[2]] to ask an appointment with Mr. Morley.

Mr. Ally and I had half an hour with Lord George Hamilton who was sympathetic but there was a ring of *non possumus* about all he said. However, he has told us that he will carefully go through the Ordinance.

I am,
Yours truly,

SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE, K.C.S.I.
198, CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4529

142. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MORLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE JOHN MORLEY
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
INDIA OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

We, the undersigned, being Delegates appointed by the British Indian Association of the Transvaal to wait upon the Imperial authorities in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance passed by

[1] The deputation waited on Mr. Morley on November 22, 1906.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

the Legislative Council, beg to report that we have waited upon His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies and now request an interview with the Right Hon'ble the Secretary for India.

Mr. Morley, in his communication to Mr. Naoroji, was pleased to say that he would receive the Indian Deputation, for which we beg to express our thanks.

Sir Lepel Griffin, who headed, and other distinguished gentlemen who formed the deputation yesterday, have kindly consented to join us and introduce us to Mr. Morley. We shall be pleased if the Right Hon'ble gentleman will appoint a time for receiving the Deputation.

We have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servants,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4531

143. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

TO
LORD ELGIN'S PRIVATE SECRETARY
[SIR,]

As Lord Elgin told the Indian Deputation yesterday that official notes would be taken of the proceedings of the Deputation, may I ask you to let me have a copy of the official notes.

I remain,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 4535

144. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I am sending you all the cuttings I can. I will not enumerate them. The interview with Lord Elgin yesterday was exceedingly good. Sir Lepel Griffin spoke very nicely. You may read this letter to the members of the Association. I may be able to let you have the official copy of the proceedings next week. I have applied for it. Sir Muncherji, Mr. Naoroji, Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Rees spoke: they were all precise

and to the point. The support we have received is beyond expectation. Everybody considers that a stronger deputation on Indian affairs has never yet waited upon the Government. There seems to be every reason for hoping that Lord Elgin will grant a commission and if he does, it will be exceedingly good. We have now asked for an interview with Mr. Morley; that Deputation will also, I believe, be very strongly supported. The meeting of the Members of the House of Commons[1] was very enthusiastic and sympathetic. Some of the Members thought that it was unprecedented! Nobody had expected that over 100 Members would attend. The speakers too at the meeting vied with one another in showing their sympathy.

We saw Lord George Hamilton today: he gave us half an hour. He said he felt convinced that an injustice was being done. He has promised to study the Representation to Lord Elgin. There was, however, an attitude of *non possumus* about him.

We sent you a long cablegram[2] yesterday. The more we see, the more we feel that a permanent committee is absolutely necessary, if the work of the Deputation is not to be frittered away. Sir Muncherji is very emphatic on the point. It is, therefore, vexing that no cablegram has yet been received from you. This is not to blame you. I can quite understand the difficulties you are going through. This is not to blame you.[3] I simply state the fact that delay is dangerous and hope that tomorrow there will be a cablegram from you. I need hardly say that Mr. Ally is in thorough agreement with this view. We are both getting on very nicely.

You will be pleased to learn that Mr. Scott, your father's friend, played an important part in bringing about the meeting of the Members of the House of Commons and that your father devoted the best part of last Monday to seeing Mr. Scott and others for this meeting. His assistance to me has been very valuable in more ways than one. Your mother has promised to try earth bandages for her neuralgia. I tried to dig up some clean earth from your yard but it was not to be had. Your father was to procure some from elsewhere. I shall know more next Sunday as I am to pass almost the whole of Sunday afternoon with your people: having, however, found out Mrs. [Freeth's address,][4] I shall have to take away 2 hours from them.

I am not sending any article this time; I may write something if the spirit moves me. My outside activity has been so great that there has not been much time left for contemplation: anything, therefore, that I should

[1] Held on November 7. *Vide* p. 105.

[2] Not available

[3] The repetition of this sentence is due perhaps to an oversight.

[4] The words here are overtyped and illegible. *Vide* letter to J. W. Macintyre, (p. 142) who was asked to send her address.

give you would be purely superficial. You may, however, give an article on the papers regarding the activity of the Deputation which I am sending. Mr. Mukerji will send you some cuttings and you may deal with the Representation by Godfrey and others, as also the House of Commons meeting and the Deputation. As I am dictating this, I now fancy that I may give you a leader[1] on Lord Elgin's reply to clear away some of the points.

You should not take anything from this letter about the Deputation to work up an article because the proceedings of the deputation are supposed to be [private][2]. The cablegram sent to Lord Elgin must be shocking!!! I suppose it is Dr. Godfrey. We have asked Lord Elgin to give us the text of the cablegram and the name of the sender. We may then give an explanation.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
BOX 6522
JOHANNESBURG
SOUTH AFRICA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4530

145. LETTER TO J. KITCHIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

DEAR MR. KITCHIN,

I have purposely delayed replying to your kind note as my movements were so uncertain.

I shall have much pleasure in dining with you on Wednesday next, and I shall take the train at Charing Cross at 6.45 p.m.

If it is not inconvenient to you, we might meet at the station about that time. I have not looked at a guide but I take it that it is the main station from which I get my ticket.

Yours truly,

JOSEPH KITCHIN, ESQ.
"INGLENOOK"
BRACKLEY ROAD
BECKENHAM

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4532

[1] This, it would appear, was not sent.

[2] The original has the word "secret" which is scored out. Gandhiji apparently intended to replace it by "private"—which is how he describes the deputation proceedings elsewhere.

146. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 9, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Both Mr. Ally and I are obliged for the tickets for the complimentary breakfast to be given to Mr. Naoroji on Tuesday, the 20th instant at 9.30 a.m.

Both Mr. Ally and I will consider it an honour to be present at the banquet.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART.
84, PALACE CHAMBERS
WESTMINSTER

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4533

147. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 9, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Mr. Simmonds attended yesterday to take down the article[1] you were to have dictated. I suppose that you were unavoidably detained.

I had hoped to be able to undergo the operation tomorrow and to pass with you from Saturday to Monday. I see, however, that I must not do so for the present, things having taken a turn for the better as also for the worse.

I must keep myself busy in connection with the Deputation work. I find that I cannot possibly leave next week. I may, therefore, be ready for treatment Saturday week.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4534

[1] Dr. Oldfield wrote two articles on "Indian Parents' Duty" for *Indian Opinion*, which were published on January 5 and January 12, 1907.

148. DEPUTATION NOTES - I

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 9, 1906[1]

INTERVIEW WITH LORD ELGIN

Though in order of time, the interview with Lord Elgin comes last, I shall deal with it first as it is very important. We were accompanied by Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Syed Ameer Ali, Mr. Harold Cox, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir George Birdwood, Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. Thornton and Mr. F. H. Brown[2]. The deputation included members from all the parties.[3] It is said that such a [strong] deputation has never before waited on Lord Elgin. We all presented ourselves before Lord Elgin at 3 p.m. on Thursday[4].

Sir Lepel Griffin made a spirited speech and appealed to Lord Elgin to reject the Ordinance. He said that the Ordinance was derogatory to Anglo-Indians[5]. One who read the Ordinance would think that those who ruled over such people[6] must be a worthless lot. The Indians and the British both originated in Central Asia. The Indians were very industrious, intelligent and honest. Those who had seen India would never tolerate the refuse of Europe collected in the Transvaal tyrannizing over the Indians there.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ally spoke after Sir Lepel. Mr. Ally's voice choked with emotion as he spoke.

Then Sir Henry Cotton made a powerful speech. Quoting Lord Lansdowne, he said that the Members of the House of Commons also wanted that justice be done. While Kruger used the whip, the British Government were scourging us with scorpion stings.

[1] The last paragraph of this item would suggest that this was completed on or after November 10, 1906; *vide* "Letter to O. H. A. Johari", p. 142-3.

[2] F. H. Brown was not in the list, circulated by Gandhiji, of members who were to wait in deputation on Lord Elgin; *vide* p. 113.

[3] The Conservative Party was not represented in the deputation although, according to Sir Henry Cotton the Transvaal Indian Deputation had the "complete sympathy" of individual Conservative Members; *vide* p. 121.

[4] November 8, 1906

[5] The British in India were also referred to as Anglo-Indians.

[6] The reference is to the people to whom the Ordinance applied, namely, the British Indians.

Sir Muncherji wanted to know what had happened to the commission which Mr. Lyttelton had promised him. If Lord Elgin could do nothing more, the commission at any rate should be appointed. Mr. Ameer Ali said that he had recently returned from India and that the whole country was unhappy over the sufferings of Indians in South Africa.

Mr. Dadabhai said that the British Government would stand disgraced if the oppression of Indians continued.

Mr. Rees said that this question was an all-party one.

Mr. Cox said that, as an Englishman, he felt ashamed of the disabilities Indians in the Transvaal had to suffer.

In reply, Lord Elgin said that his own sympathy was bound to be with the Indians. He had always wished well of the Indian people. The officials of the Transvaal Government had stated that the Ordinance was not oppressive. It was true in a sense that the remission of the £3 tax afforded, as Mr. Gandhi had pointed out, no relief in fact. However, it was something of a gain that the legal stigma of the £3 tax had been removed. There did not seem to be much objection to the giving of thumb-impressions. It was unlikely that the police would look into the passes every day and harass the people. However, there was no need to emphasize all these matters. Sir Lepel had said that the British whites there were not very hostile to Indians. But there were cablegrams from Krugersdorp and other places which expressed the hope that the Ordinance would receive Royal assent. While he would not say anything about Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Ally, he might tell them that he had received cablegrams from some Indians expressing contrary opinions. He added that all that was by way of information only. He did not regard the demand for a commission as unreasonable. The matter deserved consideration, and he would reply after giving it sufficient thought.

Seeking permission to speak for a minute, Mr. Gandhi said that Lord Elgin's information was not correct and that, if His Lordship gave them another appointment, the two Delegates would be able to prove this. Whether or not a second meeting materializes, all this clearly shows that the appointment of a commission is absolutely necessary and that such complicated matters can be settled only through a commission.

It is hoped that, as a result of this Deputation, a commission will be appointed.

Members of House of Commons

As we thought it would be very appropriate and helpful if the Members of the House of Commons met and passed a resolution expressing sympathy, we called upon some Members and had a

discussion with them. In this matter we sought the help of Mr. Sootie[1], a Member of Parliament who is a friend of Mr. Polak's father, and the meeting at last took place on Wednesday night. Some half-a-dozen Members jointly issued a circular and invitations. Messrs Gandhi and Ally spoke and then the meeting passed a resolution requesting Lord Elgin to accede to the demand of the Indian Deputation. Many people think that the large meeting of Members of the House of Commons was the first of its kind in recent times. This shows that our cause is being widely discussed.

Meeting with Ameer Ali

Both the members of the Deputation had a private interview with Mr. Ameer Ali, during which he expressed much sympathy for our cause and also promised to write on it, if possible, for prominent papers here.

Interview with Lord Hamilton

Lord George Hamilton heard us patiently for half an hour. It will be recalled that he was at one time the Secretary of State for India. He has agreed to go into the question fully and do his best.

This matter is often discussed in *South Africa* and other papers. *South Africa* also published an interview[2] with Mr. Gandhi on Mr. Tatham's Bill. The correspondent has given a correct report of the interview.

A copy of the petition submitted to Lord Elgin has been sent to every Member of Parliament with a courteous covering letter.

A letter[3] seeking an interview with Mr. Morley has been despatched today. It will probably materialize next week. The Deputation has still so much work to do that it will be very difficult for it to leave on November 24.

South African Students in England

A petition has been specially sent to Lord Elgin by these students.[4] In it they have asked to know what their own plight would be under the new law; but the petition covers the question of the rights of all the others as well. If Lord Elgin should say that separate laws would be made for those who had gone to England, he would be insulting the others; if, on the other hand, he should say that they would not get the rights, it would be gross injustice.

[1] There is an error in the Gujarati original. It was Scott who helped Gandhiji to arrange the meeting at the House of Commons; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 134.

[2] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", pp. 7-10.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Morley", pp. 132-3.

[4] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80.

NATAL QUESTION

The Deputation is not concerned with Natal affairs. However, since Mr. Tatham's Bill has been published and a cablegram about it has been received here, Mr. Gandhi has asked for a private interview with Lord Elgin.[1] He has not yet given a definite reply, but has written saying that he will do so next week.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 8-12-1906

149. LETTER TO S. M. MANGA

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 10, 1906

DEAR MR. MUNGA,

I have your note. I addressed one[2] to you yesterday, not knowing what your movements were.

Mr. Ally and I will be glad to dine with you next Saturday if it is convenient to you. Please let me know the time.

You have not told me how you are getting on, how you like the place, what the people are like and what they charge you, etc. We should like to have all information about the place. Please write to me fully. There is no excuse for you to give me only scrappy information.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. MUNGA, ESQ.
ST. EDMUND'S
BROADSTAIRS

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4540

150. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 10, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

You may have seen *The Times*' report of the interview. In my opinion whoever gave the information, it was a shameful thing. Sir Lepel was very much annoyed about it, when I saw him yesterday.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 71-2 and pp. 103-4.
[2] Not available

Three reporters came to me on Thursday evening, and I replied that I could not possibly give them any information, as Lord Elgin wanted the interview to be treated as strictly private.

Mr. Adam of Reuter's Agency has just come over to enquire whether any [member] of the deputation could have supplied *The Times* with the report. I have assured him that such a thing is not possible.

Sir Lepel is of opinion that the information must have been given by someone in the Colonial Office. Lord Elgin's speech has been given practically word for word.

Mr. Adam suggests, and I entirely agree, that there should be a question[1] in the House enquiring why it was that *The Times* was so favoured.

Believe me,
Yours truly,

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4536

151. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 10, 1906

DEAR MR. WEST,

I must still keep you without a long letter and I fear I shall have to do so during the short time I remain here. It seems impossible for me to leave next week; not that I ever thought that there was much chance. I shall probably leave here on the 24th November.

I send you a copy of my letter[2] to Mr. Polak.

I am going to see Miss Pywell tomorrow unless she countermands my letter posted yesterday.

I hope that Mrs. West is getting on nicely, that she is comfortable, and that Mrs. Gandhi received her well.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

A. H. WEST, ESQ.
Indian Opinion
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4537

[1] On December 3, 1906, Swift McNeill asked this question of the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Supplementary questions were asked by Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Edward Carson. Harold Cox asked a supplementary regarding a similar leakage concerning the deputation to the India Office.

[2] *Vide* pp. 133-5.

152. LETTER TO J. W. MACINTYRE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 10, 1906

DEAR MR. MCINTYRE,

You promised to send me Mrs. Freeth's address but you have not done so. Fortunately I have now got it. I have received the papers regarding Mr. Macdonald. I have written to the London solicitors about it.

I need not say anything further as you will see my letter[1] to Mr. Polak.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. MACINTYRE, ESQ.
Box 6522
JOHANNESBURG

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4538

153. LETTER TO O. H. A. JOHARI

H[OTEL] C[ECIL,]
L[ONDON,]
November 10, 1906

MY DEAR OMAR,

I have not the time to write to you in Gujarati. I am dictating this at 9.45 p.m. I have done all I could for the Natal question; I have sought an interview with Lord Elgin. I received a reply on Wednesday saying that I should put down in writing what I had to state: I sent a reply the same day, stating shortly my contention and asking for a private and informal interview.[2] I have heard again today to the effect that a reply will be sent to me next week. I send you also a copy of *South Africa* containing an account of the interview with him. Beyond this I cannot go at present; I am too busy giving my attention to the Transvaal. I have, however, sent a cablegram suggesting a permanent committee here as I see that a great deal of work could be done

[1] *Vide* pp. 133-5.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 103-4; also enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 253-4.

with such a committee which should be not a Transvaal Committee but a South African Committee. I think that with careful management it could become a most efficient body.

I sent another cablegram[1] yesterday asking for immediate authority as the committee must be formed while Mr. Ally and I are here. I hope I shall receive some reply tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

OMAR H. A. JOHARI, ESQ.[2]
BOX 441
WEST STREET
DURBAN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4539

154. LETTER TO A. QADIR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 10, 1906

DEAR MR. QADIR,

Many thanks for your note. I am satisfied with the result of the interview with Lord Elgin, not because I am assured of success, but because of the necessary work done. However, Lord Elgin, instead of giving a blank, negative reply, has promised to consider the proposal about the commission. There is therefore some hope yet left.

I shall ask my manager to send you a copy of *Indian Opinion* regularly so long as you are in London. When you return you can advise the manager of the change of address and copies will be posted there.

I thank you for offering to send your monthly magazine to Phœnix. Mr. Ally also wishes me to thank you for the copy sent to him.

The papers you read before the East India Association I had seen while I was at Johannesburg; I dealt with it [*sic*] in the Gujarati columns of the paper.[3]

I send you herewith two copies of each of the Representations.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

ABDUL QADIR, ESQ.[4]
69, SHEPHERD'S BUSH ROAD

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4542

[1] Not available
[2] Spelt also as Jhaveri
[3] *Vide* "Jivan Hind", *Indian Opinion,* 31-3-1906.
[4] Editor of *Lahore Observer* and *Urdu*

155. LETTER TO W. J. WEST

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 10, 1906

DEAR MR. WEST,

Please send a copy of *Indian Opinion* to Abdul Qadir, Esq., c/o Thomas Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, as exchange copy for a monthly magazine which he will send.

Mr. Qadir is a graduate of Punjab University and the proprietor of the magazine *Urdo*[1]. He may also become our honorary contributor.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. WEST, ESQ.[2]
PHŒNIX
DURBAN

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4541

156. LETTER TO MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 12, 1906

MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS
58, FLEET STREET, E.C.

GENTLEMEN,

Both Mr. Ally and I have received your letters referring to press cuttings.

We will have those cuttings on the terms mentioned, viz., £1.1.0 for two hundred copies, if you can let us have the copies from the 20th ultimo. They need not necessarily be regarding the British Indian Association, Mr. Ally, or myself, but we will take copies generally regarding British Indians in South Africa.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4522

[1] *Urdu*

[2] There is an error in the initials for, apart from A. H. West, who managed the English side of *Indian Opinion*, there was no one else of that name at Phœnix.

157. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 12, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

We have the honour to submit for His Lordship's information a cablegram received from the British Indian Association in Johannesburg, "Have affidavit Godfrey obtained signatures blank paper false pretence using name bias (code word for British Indian Association) signature now withdrawn, cabling Lord Elgin, papers published full report conference".[1]

From this it would appear that the Johannesburg papers have received a report of the proceedings of the Deputation and it is evidently on the strength of the reference therein to cablegram received by His Lordship from Indians in Johannesburg that the British Indian Association has sent the cablegram to His Lordship.

We have the honour to remain,
Your obedient servants,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4547

[1] Also quoted in "Letter to Sir Henry Cotton", p. 151, but the text varies slightly.

158. LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 12, 1906

THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, E.C.

SIR,

By your leading article in *The Times* of the 10th instant on the British Indian question in the Colonies, you have lifted it from the platform of parochialism to that of Imperialism. For the present, however, we will be thankful if you will allow us to deal with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance without touching the larger issue discussed by you.

You say:

> It does not seem likely or desirable that a measure, which appears to be supported generally by the opinion of the people who are shortly to have power to make their own laws, should be refused the assent of the Crown.

We venture to take exception to your opinion for the following reasons:

1. You admit that upon the merits of the particular controversy aroused by the Ordinance there is "at present hardly evidence enough to form judgment".
2. The Ordinance does not affect the broad question of Asiatic Immigration into the Transvaal, but it very materially alters to their prejudice the status of British Indians resident in the Colony.
3. It is not "a purely temporary measure"; for, while it is true that Mr. Duncan stated that it was introduced without prejudice to further legislation, there was no question of the Ordinance itself being "a temporary measure". In its very nature it is not capable of being temporary, because it is intended to carry out once and for all, so it is said, registration of British Indians in the Transvaal, and to compel them to carry passes, euphemistically called registration certificates.
4. Instead of preserving the status quo and relieving the Asiatic residents from "certain manifest grievances", it reduces their status and removes not a single grievance.

[1] This letter was not published in *The Times*.

5. While the prejudice on the part of the general portion of the white community is admitted, the manner of giving effect to it is purely a creation of the Government and the Transvaal community is certainly not privy to the framing of the Ordinance. Its plan is undoubtedly drastic, but honest. If it had its own way, perhaps that portion of it which represents anti-Asiatic agitation will pass legislation involving deportation of Indian residents in the Colony. Such, in effect, it will be remembered, was the resolution passed by the so-called National Convention.
6. That the Transvaal is on the eve of getting Responsible Government is an additional reason why, instead of the British Indian position being prejudiced by the Ordinance in question, it should be so commended to the incoming Government as to bear the Imperial stamp; that is to say, the status of British Indians should be levelled up to that enjoyed by British Indians at the Cape.
7. There is absolutely no proof[1] justifying a dangerous departure from the traditions of Crown Colony Government in the shape of invidious class distinctions.
8. Involving, as the question does, Imperial considerations of the highest order, the Imperial Government should think twice before sanctioning panic legislation which underlies the Ordinance.

The reasons we have above given for withholding the Royal sanction are also reasons showing why a commission should be appointed to go into the question, and to place such evidence before the public and the Government as is, on your own showing, at present lacking. You, Sir, have rightly said that every Indian returning from the Transvaal to India returns a missionary to sow discontent. We, who have the privilege of representing the community, can state that we have given only the most moderate expression to the sentiments of the thousands who attended the mass meeting referred to by you. It is not possible for us to describe in words the bitterness which animated that meeting regarding the measure. The lower the status of the Indian, the greater would be his hardship under the Ordinance. The well-to-do Indian may by reason of his position be able to escape the grossest forms of oppression which must inevitably flow from the Ordinance. Poor people were, under the registration effected by Lord Milner's advice, dragged at four o'clock on a cold winter's morning from their beds in Johannesburg, Heidelberg and Potchefstroom, and marched to the police station, or Asiatic Offices, as the case might be.[2] It is they who under the Ordinance would be hustled by the Kaffir Police at every turn, and not the better-class Indians. They, therefore, feel the

[1] Of a large unauthorized influx of Indians
[2] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 293-4.

treatment more than we do, because to them their hardship is an ever-present reality.

The Indian community has all along contended that there is no unauthorized influx on a wholesale scale, that there is no attempt by the community to countenance any such influx, that the present machinery is absolutely effective to check unauthorized entry and the documents already held by Indians are sufficient for purposes of identification. If these statements are challenged, as they have been challenged, is it not at least in common fairness necessary to appoint a commission of enquiry[?]

We are, etc.,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4543

159. LETTER TO SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 12, 1906

DEAR SIR LEPEL,

I am obliged to you for your note. *The Times* leader is very important and certainly on the whole sympathetic.

May I venture to ask you to write a short letter to *The Times* emphasizing the question of discontent and the Imperial importance of the question.

I beg to enclose herewith copy of the letter[1] written by Mr. Ally and myself to *The Times*.

I have been considering with Sir Muncherji the question of forming a permanent committee for the South African Indians. The work of the Deputation will be frittered away if it cannot be continued after its return to South Africa. If a small committee was formed it would be a very great assistance. May we rely upon your co-operation. Mr. Ally and I will be obliged if you will lend your name to the committee. A cable has just been received from Johannesburg sanctioning the formation of such a committee.

I am,
Yours truly,

[Enclosure]

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.
4, CADOGAN GARDENS
SLOANE SQUARE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4544

[1] The preceding item

160. LETTER TO H. COX[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 12, 1906

DEAR MR. COX,

I enclose herewith *The Times* leading article on the British Indians. May I ask you to use your powerful pen? I enclose also copy of the letter addressed by Mr. Ally and myself to *The Times*.[2] If the matter is dealt with by the various members of the deputation in the columns of *The Times* I think it will keep the question prominently before the public and is likely to influence Lord Elgin.

I am,
Yours truly,

[2 enclosures]

HAROLD COX, ESQ., M.P.
6, RAYMONDS BUILDINGS

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4548

161. LETTER TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 12, 1906

DEAR SIR MUNCHERJEE,

I have received a cablegram today authorizing formation of the committee. Unless I hear from you to the contrary I shall wait[3] on you on Wednesday at 11.30 a.m. to discuss what should be done. I have invited Sir Lepel's co-operation already. Will you kindly write to me?

I have written to some members of the deputation urging them to write to *The Times*.[4] I submit a draft[5] for your approval. I think if

[1] Copies of this were sent to Sir George Birdwood, Ameer Ali and J. D. Rees.

[2] *Vide* pp. 146-8.

[3] The original has "await".

[4] None of these is available. However, a letter from Sir Roper Lethbridge who was not a member of the deputation appeared in *The Times*, 12-11-1906. Sir Roper, who was editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta, said that the entire British community in India was in sympathy with the representation of the Transvaal Indians to Lord Elgin.

[5] *Vide* "Draft Letter to *The Times*", pp. 158-9. It is dated November 13 and carries corrections in Gandhiji's hand. Either the note was posted on November 13 or the draft letter was merely dated November 13 for the convenience of Sir Muncherji who was to send it to *The Times* under his signature.

you wrote something after the draft it cannot but carry weight and keep the controversy going. It will produce a good effect in South Africa.

I am,
Yours truly,

[Enclosure]

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, K.C.S.I.
196, CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4549

162. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 12, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

I am obliged to you for the copy of the Minutes of the deputation that waited on His Lordship on Thursday last. I note this copy is marked "Confidential". His Lordship may have seen the report of the proceedings in *The Times*. I may state that four reporters came to me immediately after the interview and asked me to give them a report of the meeting. I told them that I was pledged by His Lordship to privacy. I was therefore somewhat surprised to find the report in *The Times*. I approached Sir Lepel Griffin, and he too expressed surprise. I am quite at a loss to understand how *The Times* secured the information. In view of the fact that a report of the proceedings has appeared in *The Times* and that it does not represent at all fully the statements submitted to His Lordship on behalf of British Indians, will His Lordship permit me to give a copy of the Minutes to the Press?

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4550

163. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 12, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

I am obliged to you for your note of the 12th instant. We have received today the following cablegram: "Have affidavits Godfrey obtained signatures blank paper false pretences using name bias (code word for British Indian Association). Signatures now withdrawn. Cabling (Lord) Elgin. Papers publish full report conference." This cablegram means that a full report has been published in Johannesburg and reference has evidently been made to the cablegram referred to by Lord Elgin. Mr. Ally and I know the gentleman well. Personally I can only say that he is a little insane. He is a medical man and has taken his degree at Edinburgh and in measures to be taken against the Ordinance he would go much further than we should. Indeed he even advocated violent measures, that is simply because there is no problem placed before him for solution but he loses his mental balance. There are other matters connected with Dr. Godfrey proving the statement made by me which I need not touch upon at any rate for the present. His two brothers are undergoing legal education here and they have signed the personal representation[1] addressed to Lord Elgin of which they have sent you a copy. They too are enraged at their brother's conduct and even went so far as to suggest that they should publicly disown his conduct.[2] Mr. Ally and I have, however, told them that such a course is not at all necessary. As you have asked the question[3], I thought I should place the above information at your disposal.

I remain,
Yours truly,

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4551

[1] "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 78-80

[2] They did do this in a letter to *The Times*, 14-11-1906.

[3] The reference here is to a question in the House of Commons, on November 14, 1906, by Sir Henry Cotton, *inter alia*, whether the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Churchill, had received telegrams indicating that the petition in question "was spurious, and that the signatures to it were obtained under false pretences".

164. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 13, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

I thank you for your note of the 12th instant. In view of the fact that Mr. Morley has consented to receive a deputation on Thursday week, as you will see from a separate letter[1] that is being addressed to you, would it not be premature to ask a question about the decision of Lord Elgin regarding the appointment of a commission?

I remain,
Yours truly,

SIR HENRY COTTON
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4555

165. LETTER TO L. M. JAMES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR MR. JAMES,

I have your note of the 12th instant. You may have seen a short report of the interview with Lord Elgin in *The Times* of the 9th instant.

We are to see Mr. Morley on the 22nd instant. There is some hope of a commission being appointed. I think you should on your side send a reminder to the Foreign Office.

Yours truly,

L. M. JAMES, ESQ.
CHINESE LEGATION
PORTLAND PLACE, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4556

[1] Not available

166. LETTER TO LORD STANLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

MY LORD,

Mr. Morley has appointed Thursday the 22nd instant at 12.20 to receive a small deputation with reference to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal. On behalf of my colleague Mr. Ally and myself, may I enquire whether you will be good enough to join the deputation? Sir Lepel Griffin has kindly consented to head it. If you will kindly attend, may I also ask you to be at the India Office at 12 o'clock on Thursday week.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY
18, MANSFIELD STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4557

167. LETTER TO B. HOLLAND

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I will do ourselves the honour of waiting on you tomorrow at 4.30, as suggested in your letter of even date. You state in your letter "the 13th instant tomorrow afternoon". I therefore take it that "13th" is a slip.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

BERNARD HOLLAND, ESQ.
COLONIAL OFFICE
LONDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4558

168. LETTER TO W. H. ARATHOON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR MR. ARATHOON,

I am obliged to you for your note of even date. If you will kindly let me have as many invitation cards as you can spare, I shall distribute them amongst the M.P's.

I have received a copy of the Minutes of the meeting with Lord Elgin. I am taking copies for distribution. I shall have much pleasure in sending you one.

With many thanks for all the trouble you are taking,

Yours sincerely,

W. H. ARATHOON, ESQ.
3, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4559

169. LETTER TO T. MORISON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I, as you know, have come here as a Deputation from the British Indians of the Transvaal. We shall be obliged if you will kindly give us an appointment to wait on you in connection with our mission.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

THEODORE MORISON, ESQ.[1]
C/O THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
3, VICTORIA STREET

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4560

[1] At one time Principal of the Mohammedan College at Aligarh; appointed to the Supreme Legislative Council by Lord Mayo and, towards the end of 1906, to the India Council by Morley

170. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR SIR GEORGE,

Thank you very much for your letter of even date. I return herewith your previous letter referred to in your letter under reply. I shall thank you to let me have an amended letter, as suggested by you. I entirely agree that Sir Muncherjee has made this question his own.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD
119, THE AVENUE
WEST EALING

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4561

171. LETTER TO C. F. COOPER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR MR. COOPER,

I enclose herewith copies of the latest Representations submitted to Lord Elgin in connection with the British Indian position in the Transvaal. More literature on this subject I shall send after my return to South Africa.

A permanent [committee] is in course of formation. I have handed your name to Mr. Ritch who will act as Secretary. He will correspond with you and see you in the matter and seek your co-operation which you have kindly promised to give and he may also, as opportunities offer, speak to meetings that may be organized by the Union[1] or any ethical society.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

CHARLES F. COOPER, ESQ.
36, OAKLEY SQUARE
LONDON, N.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4562

[1] Union of Ethical Societies

172. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MORLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE JOHN MORLEY
THE INDIA OFFICE
WHITEHALL, S.W.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 12th instant advising me of the date on which Mr. Morley will be pleased to receive the Indian Deputation.

I hope to submit the names of the members of the deputation in due course and shall endeavour to restrict the number as much as possible.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4563

173. LETTER TO MRS. G. BLAIR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR MADAM,

I am very much obliged to you for your note of the 12th instant. Mr. Ally and I will be pleased to come over to Croydon, and to pay our respects to Mrs. Bonnerji[1], and to make your acquaintance, some time in the afternoon of Thursday next. We hope to be there between 4 and 5 o'clock.

I am,
Yours truly,

MRS. BLAIR
C/O MRS. W. C. BONNERJI
"KIDDERPORE"
BEDFORD PARK
CROYDON

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4564

[1] Widow of W. C. Bonnerji. He died in England in July, 1906.

174. LETTER TO MISS F. WINTERBOTTOM

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

DEAR MISS WINTERBOTTOM,

I need hardly repeat to you how delighted I was to have a most interesting conversation with you regarding the lot of my countrymen in South Africa.

I enclose herewith copies of the two latest memorials submitted to Lord Elgin. Further literature I can only send you on my return to South Africa.

Mr. Ritch, of whom I spoke to you last evening, will see you in due course and acquaint you with the matters as they progress.

I thank you for offering to speak to the lady you mention in connection with the loan of furniture.

I am,
Yours truly,

[Enclosure]

MISS F. WINTERBOTTOM[1]
THE EMERSON CLUB
19, BUCKINGHAM STREET
STRAND, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4565

175. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Mr. Ritch is making an application to the Benchers for a remission of his terms. One of his reasons is that his father-in-law, Mr. Cohen, is in a condition of insanity and that in his interest it is necessary for him to go to South Africa as early as possible. Absence from South Africa, where Mr. Cohen has passed his happiest days, makes him very morose. Will you kindly let me have a certificate as to Mr. Cohen's

[1] Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies

condition, [mentioning] the fact that it is necessary for him, if you so consider it, to go to South Africa as early as possible?

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4566

176. DRAFT LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB,
[LONDON,]
November 13, 1906

THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
[LONDON]

SIR,

All thoughtful men must welcome your weighty leader on the Transvaal British Indian question which has recently come to the fore by reason of the visit of the Indian Deputation from the Transvaal. I have carefully read and re-read your remarks and I must confess that all that you have stated goes conclusively to show that Lord Elgin cannot possibly advise His Majesty to sanction the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. As Sir Lepel graphically put before Lord Elgin, "The toad under the harrow knows where and whether it is hurt!" The Ordinance which is supposed to relieve British Indians has given rise to the greatest irritation to the Indian community. You will perhaps give me the credit for knowing fairly intimately the British Indian question in South Africa which I have always considered to be one of the first-class magnitude. You, sir, have now very ably shown the Imperial importance of the question.

About a year ago, at a sitting of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal, Sir George Farrar suggested that a commission should be sent to the Transvaal to enquire into the whole position. I immediately accepted the proposition and approached Mr. Lyttelton who, had he been still at the Colonial Office,[2] I doubt not, would have appointed a commission.

[1] This draft is by Gandhiji. *Vide* "Letter to Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree", pp. 149-50. This letter did not appear in *The Times*.

[2] Alfred Lyttelton was succeeded by Lord Engin as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1905.

In view of the approaching Colonial Conference, it becomes doubly imperative that the Imperial Government should appoint such a commission, so that the Conference may have reliable data before it to go upon. There can be no conceivable objection from any quarter to the appointment of such a commission. Not to prejudge the case, it will be only reasonable to withhold the Royal sanction for the Ordinance in question, pending the report of any such commission that may be appointed.

I re-echo your opinion regarding the terrible discontent that is being spread by British Indians from South Africa. As you very properly say, it is not a question of political disabilities but one of inability to enjoy the ordinary rights of a British subject or even a human being in a civilized country. If the Colonies persist in their policy of exclusion, they will force on the mother country for solution a very serious problem which the late Sir William Wilson Hunter[1] used to reiterate in your columns, namely, "Is India to remain a part of the British Dominions or not?" He who runs may read that England will find it difficult to hold India if her people, immediately they migrated to British Colonies, are to be insulted and degraded as if they belonged to a barbarous race.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4552

177. LETTER TO MRS. FREETH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 14, 1906

DEAR MRS. FREETH,

I am exceedingly sorry that I shall not be able to be with you on Sunday evening. If you are free some other evening next week I should like to accept it provisionally.

I send you the photograph I promised. To Mrs. Gandhi's right is the only son[2] of my widowed sister.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

MRS. FREETH
48, FINCHLEY ROAD, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4568

[1] Authority on Indian affairs and leading member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; *vide* Vol. I, p. 381.

[2] Gokuldas, son of Raliatbehn

178. LETTER TO J. C. MUKERJI

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 14, 1906

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

I have your note. I have been occupied every evening; that is why I have not been able to write to you giving an appointment. Will you please come tomorrow at 6 p.m. and wait in the hall if I am not in or my room is not open? Mr. Ally and I are paying a visit to Mrs. Bonnerjee tomorrow and we may be a little late; we shall then on our return dine together and continue our chat.

I am,
Yours truly,

J. C. MUKERJI, ESQ.
65, CROMWELL AVENUE
HIGHGATE, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4569

179. LETTER TO S. HOLLICK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 14, 1906

DEAR MR. HOLLICK,

It is a pity you are meeting with difficulty in getting signatures[1]. If you think that any good purpose can be served by my accompanying you on your visits, I shall be glad to do so.

I send you a copy of the Memorial referred to in your letter.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
162, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4570

[1] For the petition of the Representatives of Wholesale Houses of South Africa to Lord Elgin; *vide* "Draft Petition to Lord Elgin", pp. 106-7.

180. LETTER TO SIR RICHARD SOLOMON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 15, 1906

SIR,

As you were good enough to say on board that you would, if time permitted, give me a few minutes during your stay in London, may I ask you to give me an appointment?

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR RICHARD SOLOMON
THE REFORM CLUB
PALL MALL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4571

181. LETTER TO W. CHURCHILL[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 15, 1906

WINSTON CHURCHILL, ESQ.
HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
WHITEHALL

SIR,

Mr. Ally and I, who have come as a Deputation from the Transvaal on behalf of the British Indians, venture to request an appointment with you in order to enable us to place the British Indian position in the Transvaal before you.[2] We shall be extremely obliged if you could spare a short time to enable us to wait on you.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4572

[1] Similar letters were sent to Lord Milner, A. J. Balfour and Alfred Lyttelton.
[2] Gandhiji met Winston Churchill on November 27, 1906.

182. LETTER TO H. ROSE MACKENZIE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 15, 1906

DEAR MR. MACKENZIE,

May I have a call from you tomorrow in the morning?

I am,
Yours truly,

H. ROSE MACKENZIE, ESQ.
C/O *SOUTH AFRICA*
WINCHESTER HOUSE, E.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4573

183. LETTER TO W. A. WALLACE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 15, 1906

W. A. WALLACE, ESQ.
QUEEN ANNE'S CHAMBERS
BROADWAY
WESTMINSTER

DEAR SIR,

Re: No. 28, Ground Floor

I have your letter of the 15th instant herein. I enclose herewith a cheque for the sum of £25 for the furniture mentioned in your letter in reply. Kindly let me have a proper receipt from Mr. Jamieson.

I enclose also agreement of lease signed by Mr. Ritch in his capacity as the Secretary and Treasurer of the South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee[1]. The agreement is signed by Mr. Ritch because I myself will be shortly leaving for South Africa; at the same time if you wish the agreement to be endorsed by me, with reference to Mr. Ritch's signature, I shall be pleased to do so. Will you kindly let me have the lease signed by the landlord?

May I know when I receive the keys of the room?

I am,
Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4574

[1] The name was later changed to South Africa British Indian Committee. *Vide* "Letter to Sir George Birdwood", p. 195.

184. LETTER TO T. J. BENNETT

HOTEL CECIL,
STRAND,
[LONDON,]
November 15, 1906

DEAR SIR,

It has been decided and we have been authorized by the British Indian community in South Africa to form a committee for securing fair treatment to British Indian subjects in South Africa.

It is proposed to call the committee "South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee".

Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, and other sympathizers have kindly consented to join the committee.

We shall be pleased if you will kindly let us know whether you will be good enough to join the committee. We may state that no continuous and active work will be expected of the committee as such work will be done by a small executive committee, but we are anxious to secure the moral support and influence of all who consider that British Indians in South Africa are not receiving fair and just treatment.

Mr. L. W. Ritch of South Africa has consented to act as secretary for the committee.

We remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
[M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY]

T. J. BENNETT, ESQ., C.I.E.[1]
The Times of India
[LONDON]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4575

[1] Of Bennett Coleman & Co., publishers of *The Times of India*

185. LETTER TO DADABHAI NAOROJI[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W. C.,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR SIR,

We have been authorized by the British Indian community in South Africa to form a committee for securing fair and just treatment of British Indians in South Africa. It is proposed to call the committee "South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee".

We shall be pleased and obliged if you will kindly let us know whether you will be good enough to join the committee.

We may state that no continuous and active work will be expected of the members of the committee, except by those who will also allow themselves to be nominated as members of a small executive committee.

We are anxious to secure the moral support and influence of all who should consider that British Indians in South Africa are not receiving fair and just treatment.

Mr. L. W. Ritch of South Africa has consented to act as secretary to the committee.

We are,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY

DADABHAI NAOROJI, ESQ.
22, KENNINGTON ROAD, S.E.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G. N. 2271

[1] This is in fact a circular letter, and was sent also to Sir Henry Cotton, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Charles Dilke, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Charles Schwann, Sir William Wedderburn, A. H. Scott, J. M. Robertson, Harold Cox, T. H. Thornton and J. D. Rees.

186. LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 16, 1906]

[THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
LONDON
SIR,]

Perhaps it is necessary for me to say a word about the "petition" from certain Indians regarding the British Indian Deputation from the Transvaal which was the subject matter of question and answer in Parliament as reported in your issue of yesterday's date. It is said therein that I do not possess any mandate, that I am a professional agitator and that my advocacy of the Indian cause has resulted in harm being done to the Indians.

The appointment of my colleague and myself was made unanimously at a public meeting. We hold a document to that effect.[2] The mass meeting at Johannesburg which was convened by me as Secretary to the British Indian Association approved of the principle of the Delegation. The first signatory[3] to this "petition" was present at the meeting and spoke strongly in support of all the principal resolutions. He, moreover, offered himself as one of the delegates but was not accepted. The "petition" is signed by *two* Indians. It is necessary to distinguish the "petition" from a paper purporting to have been signed by 437 Indians and repudiating our mandate. As to this, the following cable was received by the Delegates from Johannesburg on the 10th instant: "Have affidavits Godfrey obtained signatures blank paper false pretences using name bias (code word for the British Indian Association, Transvaal) signatures now withdrawn cabling (Lord) Elgin papers publish full report conference." The foregoing cable was evidently sent on the telegraphic report of the interview sent by the Press correspondents.

The incident does not mean that the two signatories of the "petition" approve of the Asiatic Ordinance. On the contrary, in their opinion evidently I am the mischievous cause of the legislation which they detest as much as the other Indians. Their attitude resolves itself into personal objection to me and not into one of approval of the Ordinance.

[1] This was not published in *The Times*.
[2] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", p. 172.
[3] Dr. William Godfrey

As I have been allowed by the Colonial Office to see the "petition"— I know that the expression "professional agitator" means a paid agitator— I may then state that the thirteen years' service rendered by me to my countrymen has been a labour of love and [a matter of the] keenest pleasure to me.

Opinions may differ as to the usefulness or otherwise of my services. The late Sir John Robinson considered that they were not useless.[1] Mr. William Hosken[2] and others in the Transvaal also encourage me in the work I am trying to do, namely, to cement the relations between the European and the British Indian subjects in South Africa by removing all cause for misunderstanding.

The only reason for tendering this explanation is that the sacred mission which I have come here to discharge may not be prejudiced in the eyes of the public by leaving unchallenged the allegation in question.

[*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI]

Indian Opinion, 15-12-1906

Also typewritten draft: S. N. 4577

187. LETTER TO T. MORISON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith the papers promised by me.

I shall thank you to return the Minutes of the meeting with Lord Elgin after you have done with them.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

THEODORE MORISON, ESQ.
C/O THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
9, VICTORIA STREET, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4578

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 160.
[2] Prominent European member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly

188. LETTER TO MESSRS A. BONNER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

MESSRS A. BONNER
1 & 2, TOOK'S COURT
LONDON, E.C.

DEAR SIRS,

Herewith please find enclosed cheque for the sum of £2.8.0 together with your bill, which kindly return duly receipted.

Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4579

189. LETTER TO MRS. S. WALTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR MRS. WALTON,

I have just been talking to a valued friend[1] about the conversation we had yesterday. He is a missionary belonging to the Arya Samaj of the Punjab. The Samaj is to Hinduism what Protestantism is to Catholicism. The missionary friend is under a vow of poverty and his talents are devoted to the work of education combined with religion. He is an M.A. of Punjab University but in order to increase his usefulness he is staying in London and studying for the London M.A. I suggested to him that, if he could enter a quiet, nice English home, he would be able to see the real culture and beauty of English life which would be of immense use in his work. At the same time he is to live as cheaply as possible. Do you know a home that would take him without pecuniary consideration? Of course he would pay for his board and lodging but he cannot pay more than £1 per week. It does not matter

[1] Prof. Parmanand

where such a home is so long as it enables him to reach the British Museum within half an hour or at the most three quarters of an hour.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

MRS. SPENCER WALTON
ANDREW HOUSE
TONBRIDGE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4580

190. LETTER TO W. T. STEAD

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 16, 1906

DEAR SIR,

As you were good enough to show very great sympathy with the cause of British Indians in the Transvaal, may I suggest your using your influence with the Boer leaders in the Transvaal? I feel certain that they did not share the same prejudice against British Indians as against the Kaffir races but as the prejudice against Kaffir races in a strong form was in existence in the Transvaal at the time when the British Indians immigrated there, the latter were immediately lumped together with the Kaffir races and described under the generic term "Coloured people". Gradually the Boer mind was habituated to this qualification and it refused to recognize the evident and sharp distinctions that undoubtedly exist between British Indians and the Kaffir races in South Africa.

If you were to place this position before them in your own graphic style and show to them that British Indians have an ancient civilization behind them, that they do not aspire to any political power in the Transvaal, that they are a mere handful, i.e., 13,000, and that further immigration can easily be regulated without accentuating class difference, I have no doubt that some at least of the Boer leaders would listen to you and give effect to your suggestions.

The Indian community in the Transvaal will feel deeply grateful to you if you could see your way to influence the Boer mind in the direction I have ventured to suggest to you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

W. T. STEAD, ESQ.
MOWBRAY HOUSE
NORFOLK STREET
STRAND

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4584

191. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

I haven't a moment to spare for any leading articles or matter. You will see from *India* a question[1] and answer regarding the Godfrey petition. Is it not a strange irony of fate that, while the doctor is madly doing all he can to injure the cause, his two brothers here are doing and rendering all the assistance in their power to further the cause? Arithmetically, therefore, any evil effect produced by the activity of the one should be neutralized, especially when it is remembered that the activity of the two is in the direction of the right course. Sir Muncherjee has addressed a letter[2] to *The Times* on it. So have I.[3] I send you a copy of my letter, also copy of letter[4] by the Godfreys. Your cablegram tells me that your Association is cabling Lord Elgin. Up to the time of writing it would appear that the cablegram has not arrived.

I may have to cable next week for information.

We meet Mr. Morley on the 22nd. I think the deputation will be strong. Sir Lepel Griffin will head it.

A room has been engaged for the permanent committee at £40 per year. Furniture has been bought for £25. Sir Muncherjee will probably be the chairman. More later.

I am afraid that we cannot leave before the 1st week of next month because the committee will require organizing and there will be some work to be done after the interview with Morley.

We had an exceedingly nice chat with Mr. Stead. He has promised to do all he can. I have therefore suggested to him that he should write to his Boer friends to distinguish between Coloured people belonging to different nationalities.[5]

[1] *Vide* footnote 3, p. 151.

[2] *Vide* "Draft Letter to *The Times*", pp. 158-9.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times*", pp. 146-8.

[4] George V. Godfrey and James W. Godfrey, of Lincoln's Inn, wrote to *The Times* on November 15, 1906, entirely dissociating themselves from the petition of Dr. Godfrey, their brother, and repeating their "strong protest" against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance. They added that Gandhiji's was "purely a labour of love" and not a means to a selfish end. The conduct of Dr. Godfrey, they thought, was inexplicable. See also appendix.

[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

Ritch addresses his lecture[1] to the East India Association on the 26th instant.

I have met Miss Winterbottom of the Union of Ethical Societies. She feels very much interested.

The Pan-Islamic Society has sent a representation to Lord Elgin, copy of which too I am sending.

I want to draw up a report of the meeting of the London Indian Society[2] but it is not yet ready, as also of the Pan-Islamic Society[3]. I might be able to give it herewith. The Pan-Islamic's representation you should print. I am sending you also a splendid contribution by Dr. Oldfield. He will probably give us a series. You may write a short note on it, as also on the Indian Society meeting.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4581

192. LETTER TO T. J. BENNETT

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I know that you have consistently and continually advocated the cause of British Indians in South Africa throughout our troubles. Mr. Ally and I have come as a Deputation on behalf of British Indians in the Transvaal to wait on Lord Elgin and Mr. Morley. The Deputation has already, as you know, waited on Lord Elgin. Mr. Morley receives the deputation on Thursday next the 22nd instant at 12.20 p.m. at the India Office. We shall be obliged if you will kindly join the deputation and give it the weight of your influence. Sir Lepel Griffin will lead it.

I should also esteem it a favour if you will kindly give Mr. Ally and myself an appointment so that we may see you and place the position before you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.
121, FLEET STREET, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4582

[1] *Vide* "Ritch's Speech at East India Association", pp. 255-7.
[2] *Vide* "Meeting at London Indian Society", pp.172-5.
[3] *Vide* "Pan-Islamic Society", pp. 175-6.

193. LETTER TO B. HOLLAND

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 16, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 15th instant.

I note that Lord Elgin has no objection to the Minutes of the Deputation being given to the Press, provided that they are printed as a whole and without any omission. I am taking the liberty therefore of sending the Minutes to the editor of the *Indian Opinion* with instructions to print them *in toto*.[1]

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

BERNARD HOLLAND, ESQ.
COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET
WHITEHALL

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4583

194. INTERVIEW TO "SOUTH AFRICA"[2]

November 16, 1906

With reference to the "petition" signed by Dr. W. Godfrey and C. M. Pillay, apparently on behalf of 437 other British Indians, who disclaim having given Mr. M. K. Gandhi any mandate to represent them in England, (which formed the subject of a question in the House by Sir Henry Cotton last week) Mr. Gandhi has stated to a representative of *South Africa* that a cablegram has been received from Johannesburg stating that the signatures of the 437 British Indians mentioned were obtained on blank paper by Dr. Godfrey, using the name of the British Indian Association.

Mr. Gandhi said:

So far as the position of the Ordinance itself is concerned, it is not affected by the petition (which is signed only by Dr. Godfrey and an interpreter named C. M. Pillay), as Dr. Godfrey was the strongest opponent of the Ordinance at the mass meeting held at the old Empire Theatre in September, when it was decided to send a Deputation to England. The only reason I can assign for his action is that he was very much

[1] These were published in *Indian Opinion*, 15-12-1906.

[2] *India* republished this interview from *South Africa*, 17-11-1906.

annoyed because he himself was not elected as one of the delegates when the matter came before the committee appointed at that meeting to nominate the representatives to go to London. The petition of Messrs Godfrey and Pillay represents that I am a "professional political agitator". As to that statement it can only arise from ignorance or wilful misrepresentation, because my services to my fellow-countrymen in South Africa for the last thirteen years have been purely a labour of love, and a matter of the keenest pleasure to me.

Mr. Gandhi, in conclusion, showed a document, dated "Johannesburg, October 1, 1906," and signed "Abdool Ganie, Chairman, British Indian Association," certifying that "M. K. Gandhi, Esquire, Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association, and Hajee Ojer Ally, Esquire, President of the Hamidia Islamic Society, have been elected as Delegates to proceed to London for the purpose of submitting to the Imperial authorities the Indian view of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, as also to interview friends in England of British Indians in South Africa."

India, 23-11-1906

195. MEETING AT LONDON INDIAN SOCIETY[1]

[After *November 16, 1906*]

At a well-attended meeting of the London Indian Society, on the 3rd November, at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji in the chair, Mr. James Godfrey of Natal, who is at present keeping his terms for the Bar and has passed his final examination, gave a paper under the above title[2]. Below is given a condensation of the paper:

Since my arrival here, I have had ample opportunities of studying these people and I hope to show you that there are very many valuable lessons to be learnt from them.

Let us examine and analyse them and see what qualities have made them what they are and what are the potent factors which are securing for them the universal triumph which seems to be growing larger and larger every day, and which must command the admiration of even their bitterest enemies. I was led to make this examination myself owing to what I felt were unsatisfactory replies given to me by a large number of our countrymen when leaving this land for home. Invariably I put them the question: "What has England taught you or what improvements have you in mind to suggest to your people when

[1] This is a report of the meeting held on November 3, and was published in *Indian Opinion* as "specially contributed". It was written by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p, 170.

[2] This item was published under the sub-title, "The Englishman as I Find Him".

you return?" And to such questions I received the painful and saddening reply to the effect that they had been too much occupied with their immediate studies and occupations to devote any time to or concern themselves about the people or things surrounding them. As to improvements at home, that is a question which affects local interests and, therefore, must necessarily need local consideration, etc. Now gentlemen, I put it to you that such replies are anything but satisfactory. Whether this be the frame of mind of the majority who go back, I will not take upon myself the responsibility of stating. I hope I shall be told I am mistaken. Be that as it may, the knowledge of the fact of even one of us returning home in this mood of utter indifference and doubt, I feel, amply justifies a reference to the subject in a paper of this kind. The Englishman abroad is one person and the Englishman at home is quite another. In the first case he proves himself to be a veritable tyrant and a despot, but in the second case, i.e., in England, few will say that he is not a desirable person.

From this you will see, therefore, that we actually arrive in this country with more or less prejudiced views and ideas, and apparently some never seem to get beyond that stage, and can never see or appreciate any good in the Englishman. We never seem to realize that we have come all the way from home in order to benefit ourselves and secure that experience and status which it is somewhat difficult for us to secure in our own land. We come, not with the intention of merely qualifying in some particular profession, but of simultaneously gaining that wider experience of the world and its ways which can only be had by travelling in foreign countries. We defeat the very object of our visit to this country if we do not carry away with us some of the multifarious benefits derived by our sojourn here. We want, after our staying here, to go back with the very best that the place can give us...If we don't, the loss is ours and we are not doing our duty to ourselves, much less to our country.

The success of the Japanese is admitted on all hands to have been due chiefly to their having, for the last 40 years or more, sent out students and specialists for the express purpose of eliciting the best information, learning the newest and latest inventions and carrying back the cream of Europe's learning, advancement and ideas of progress, all for the benefit of their country. Mark you, they did not only carry this knowledge and ideas back, but they actually applied them with a result and success which have astonished the whole world.

Let us try and reckon up some of their good points only and see if they are worth copying. The bad points we leave aside. Throughout their whole history, we find that they have displayed a remarkable spirit of love for freedom and independence. Did they not have to fight for this bit of land which they now proudly call England? Did they not have both internal and external foes and that through many

centuries? The wonderful genius of the race seems to have conspired with the strengthening influence of the place itself in securing a sure, certain and steady progress onward. The great American writer, R. W. Emerson, says: 'These Saxons are the hands of mankind. They have the taste for toil, a distaste for pleasure or repose and the telescopic appreciation of distant gain. They are the wealth-makers and by dint of mental faculty which has its own conditions and terms. The Saxon works after liking or only for himself and to set him at work and begin to draw his monstrous values out of barren Britain, all dishonour, fret and barrier must be removed and then his energies begin to play.'

We see then that the whole mind of the race, so to say, has been expanding proportionately. They have persevered in it and kept up an even game. The English game appears to be one of main force to main force, the planting of foot to foot, fairplay and open field, a rough tug without trick or dodging. One cannot entertain any reasonable doubt of their ability and energy. Just realize for one moment the nature of the lightly artificial construction of the whole fabric here. The very climate and geography are in themselves matters which are contrary to such conditions as would enhance a natural existence. Bacon says: 'Rome was a state not subject to paradoxes, but England subsists by antagonisms and contradictions and is a perfect museum of anomalies.' Is it not true, though it has been humorously said, that 'no fruits ripen in England but a baked apple', and, again, is it not equally true that no indigenous animal worth the mention has ever before flourished in this country in comparison with other countries? Yet in spite of these natural difficulties they have, owing to their dogged perseverance, tact, zeal and energy, driven all before them and are now at the top of the tree. There seems to be some secret power which permeates the whole nation and makes for progress. They have pride and affection for their race. Do we not hear everyone of them boasting and priding himself on the fact of his being an Englishman? Does he not flout it to your face at every turn that because he is an Englishman therefore he rules? They have solidarity or responsibility and trust in each other. It has been said of the Englishmen that 'they embrace their cause with more tenacity than their lives'.

The paper was very well received. Messrs B. J. Wadia, M.A., Parmeshwar Lall, M.A., J. Gowrieshanker, M.A., Nathuram, Dwarka Das and several other gentlemen who took part in the discussion congratulated the lecturer on his broad-mindedness and the ability with which he had written his paper. Some of the speakers thought that Mr. Godfrey had over-drawn the picture in favour of the Englishman, but Mr. Godfrey in his reply, whilst thanking the members for their sympathetic reception, said that he had purposely left out the other side of the Englishman's character, but he wanted to place before the members of the

Society what he considered was best in his character and what was worthy of imitation. A vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chair brought the proceedings to a close.

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

196. THE PAN-ISLAMIC SOCIETY[1]

[After *November 16, 1906*]

A meeting of the Pan-Islamic Society, whose headquarters are in London, took place at the Criterion Restaurant, on the 3rd November, in honour of its Founder and retiring Secretary, Mr. Abdullah Al-Mamoon Sohraworthy, M.A., M.K.R.S., Barrister-at-Law.

At the reception were present Mr. Syed Ameer Ali (ex-Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta), Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Shamji Krishnavarma, Mr. S. A. Quadir, Miss Martha Craig, Miss A. A. Smith, Mrs. Conseil, His Excellency Hamid Beg (Councillor of the Turkish Empire), Mrs. Hamid Beg, Miss Faizi (who is a scholar of Madras University and who is now training as an educationist), His Excellency Muin-ul-Vizarat (Charge d'Affaires of the Persian Legation), Dr. Pollen and many others.

Mr. M. H. Kidwai, of Lucknow, received the guests.

Mr. Sohraworthy, the retiring Secretary, has had a distinguished career in London. He is a much-travelled man and is the author of *Malki Law*, as also the *Sayings of Mahomed*. He has made Pan-Islamism his life work, and in his striking, though somewhat lengthy speech, he clearly showed that the object of Pan-Islamism was to bring together under its fold the different sects of Mahomedans and carry on a peaceful propaganda of the faith of the Prophet with a view to promote universal brotherhood.

This Society, which was originally called the Anjuman-e-Islam, was founded in 1886 in London. On the 23rd of June, 1903, it was re-named the Pan-Islamic Society. Mr. Ameer Ali was at one time President of this body.

The following are the avowed objects of the Society:

(a) To promote the religious, social, moral and intellectual advancement of the Mussulman world.

(b) To afford a centre of social union to Muslims from all parts of the world.

[1] This was published with the sub-title "Reception to Mr. Sohraworthy, M.A., M.K.R.S." as "Specially Reported for *Indian Opinion*" and appears to have been drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 170.

(c) To promote brotherly feelings between Muslims, and to facilitate intercourse between them.
(d) To remove misconceptions prevailing among non-Muslims regarding Islam and Mussulman.
(e) To render legitimate assistance to the best of its ability to any Muslim requiring it in any part of the world.
(f) To provide facilities for conducting religious ceremonies in non-Muslim countries.
(g) To hold debates and lectures, and to read papers likely to further the interests of Islam.
(h) To collect subscriptions from all parts of the world in order to build a mosque in London, and to endow it, and to extend the burial ground for the Muslims in London.

Its members are ordinary, extraordinary and honorary.

The annual subscription for ordinary resident members is 10/6; non-resident members pay only an entrance fee of 5/6.

Mr. Shaik Mushir Hoosain Kidwai, c/o Messrs Thos. Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C., the present acting Honorary Secretary, receives and answers all communications.

Indian Opinion, 15-12-1906

197. DRAFT QUESTIONS FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT[1]

[Before *November 17, 1906*]

QUESTION I

Has the Right Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary received a petition from Mr. Abdul Ganie, Chairman of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, regarding the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance published in the Transvaal *Government Gazette* dated September 28 last? Will His Lordship advise His Majesty, under the powers reserved under the Letters Patent, to disallow the Ordinance, in that it imposes on British Indians and other Coloured people a restriction as to holding leases of or remaining in occupation of Stands in Vrededorp?

Is it not a fact that Vrededorp is contiguous to a Location called the Malay Location and inhabited largely by British Indians?

Is it not a fact that British Indians are already in occupation of several Stands in Vrededorp, that some of them have built substantial

1. These four questions appear to have been drafted by Gandhiji for Members of Parliament. The fourth one at any rate was sent to J. D. Rees with the covering letter (p. 181) dated November 17, 1906. The question was put to Churchill on November 22, 1906. Both the question and the answer were reproduced in *India*, 1-12-1906.

structures on some Stands and that they are carrying on their trade on such Stands?

Is it not also a fact that many British Indians resided in Vrededorp during the Dutch regime and that there was no objection taken to their presence during that time?

QUESTION II

In view of the foregoing question does it not appear to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies necessary that an impartial commission should be appointed to investigate the whole question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal?

QUESTION III

Is there any precedent for legislation in the British Colonies after the manner of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance published in the Transvaal *Government Gazette* dated the 28th September, 1906?

Is it not a fact that in no part of His Majesty's Dominions are British Indians, occupying the status of British Indians in the Transvaal, made to carry passes contemplated by the said Ordinance?

QUESTION IV

Has the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies seen the report of an appeal heard by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal on the. . . .day of. . . .[1] in the matter of *Rex* v. *Mahomed Hafejee Moosa* wherein a British Indian lad under eleven years of age, living with his father, was arrested and charged before the Magistrate at Volksrust, found guilty, sentenced to pay a fine of £50 or to undergo imprisonment for a period of three months and to leave the Transvaal after the completion of his term of imprisonment or paying the fine as the case may be?

Is His Lordship aware that the Supreme Court has quashed the conviction and made scathing comments condemning the administration of the Peace Preservation Ordinance regarding the British Indians? What action do the Government intend to take in connection with the matter?

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4667

[1] The question as reproduced in *India* has "heard this month by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal in the matter of. . .", etc.

198. LETTER TO MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS
88, FLEET STREET, E.C.

DEAR SIRS,

I have the press cuttings sent by you. I note that you have not sent me Sir Roper Lethbridge's letter in *The Times* of yesterday. I should like you to be most accurate so that I may feel quite safe that I [am] receiving all the cuttings. I have not also received cuttings from the 20th October to the 3rd November. I know there were many references to the British Indian position in South Africa including the Transvaal and Natal. I had my attention drawn to references in *The African World* also. If you could complete these cuttings, I shall be obliged. Cheque will be sent to you in due course.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4586

199. LETTER TO BRITISH COMMITTEE OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

DEAR MR. HALL,

Mr. Naoroji has paid £3.10.0 for a cable he sent to the British Indian Association in Johannesburg in connection with the Asiatic Ordinance. The Acting Secretary of the Association now writes to me that he has received a memo from Mr. Naoroji. Will you kindly refund the amount to Mr. Naoroji out of the funds sent to the Committee for disbursements about the Ordinance. I had intended to speak to you about it when I saw you at Palace Chambers. I have been so much pressed for work that I have not been able to attend at the Palace Chambers as often as I should like to. Last Tuesday we met but the matter quite escaped me.

Yours truly,

THE SECRETARY
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS
WESTMINSTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4587

200. LETTER TO DADABHAI NAOROJI

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
November 17, 1906

DEAR MR. NAOROJI,

I have your notes. I had hoped that I would be able to wait on you personally and explain the letters from Mr. Polak. However, I have been so very busy in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance that I have not been able to do so.

Now that Tatham's Bill has been rejected by the Natal Assembly, nothing remains to be done for the present.

The petition[1] from Mr. Abdul Ganie you have dealt with already.

I return Mr. Polak's letters addressed to you for your file.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

DADABHAI NAOROJI, ESQ.
22, KENNINGTON ROAD
LAMBETH

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G. N. 2278

201. LETTER TO EMPIRE TYPEWRITING COMPANY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

TO
THE MANAGER
THE EMPIRE TYPEWRITING COMPANY
77, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the "Empire" hired[2] by me, I shall keep it for a month as from the 12th instant. I understand that the monthly terms are

[1] *Vide* Vol. V pp. 463-5.
[2] "Had" in the original

15/-. You have already received 7/6 and I now enclose cheque for the balance. I shall thank you to let me have the receipt.

Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4589

202. LETTER TO H. E. A. COTTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

MY DEAR MR. COTTON,

I am very much obliged to you for your note enclosing cutting from the *Empire*. Will you please look up *South Africa* and copy a report of an interview[1] with me in the next issue of *India*? I am sending a cutting to Sir Henry.

I see your notice about a contribution from Mr. Molteno. I have not been able to keep myself in greater touch with you as I have been very much pressed for work. I have not been able to go to bed at all during my stay here before one o'clock in the morning.

I am,
Yours truly,

H. E. A. COTTON, ESQ.
186, ADELAIDE ROAD
SOUTH HAMPSTEAD, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4590

203. LETTER TO SECRETARY, COUNTY SCHOOL

HOTEL CECIL,
[LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

TO
THE SECRETARY
COUNTY SCHOOL
BEDFORD

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 14th instant together with enclosures. The young man[2], for whom I have written to you,[3] is to study

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", pp. 171-2.
[2] Ruthnum Pather
[3] This is not available.

for the Matriculation Examination at the same time that he is studying for the Bar. He has already kept some terms. His previous education is very poor and it is necessary for him, if he is to hold his own in future, to go as far as the Matriculation of London University. The young man will stay there, or anywhere he is put, the whole of his time. His previous certificate given to him by the Head Master of the Higher Grade Indian School in Durban is filed with the Steward of Lincoln's Inn. Would you require production of the certificate or will a certificate from me be considered enough? I may state that he is not a Christian but a Hindoo.

I notice that the current term is half finished; will there be any reduction on that account?

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4591

204. LETTER TO J. D. REES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Will you be good enough to put the enclosed question[1]? You may have seen the report of the judgment of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal in this matter. I do not know whether the style of the question is proper but the facts stated therein are correctly set forth.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

J. D. REES, ESQ., M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
WESTMINSTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4592

[1] *Vide* "Draft Questions for Members of Parliament", Question IV, p. 177.

205. LETTER TO SIR HENRY COTTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

DEAR SIR HENRY,

With reference to your question put to Mr. Churchill, I enclose herewith cutting from *South Africa*. I have also written to *The Times*[1] and the two brothers of Dr. Godfrey, who are studying for the Bar here, have also written.[2]

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

SIR HENRY COTTON, M.P.
45, ST. JOHN'S WOOD PARK, N.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4593

206. LETTER TO G. J. ADAM

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 17, 1906

DEAR MR. ADAM,

I have received a reply from Sir Henry Cotton. He says that it is not worth while putting the question[3] I suggested as the giving of information is part of the Colonial Office procedure. If you can get some other Member to ask the question, it will certainly be very good.

Perhaps you know that Mr. Morley receives the deputation on the 22nd instant. Almost the same gentlemen who joined the deputation to Lord Elgin will be included in this deputation also.

Yours truly,

G. J. ADAM, ESQ.
24, OLD JEWRY, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4594

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times*", pp. 165-6.

[2] *Vide* footnote 4, p. 169.

[3] About how a report of the Deputation proceedings came to be published in *The Times*; *vide* "Letter to Sir Henry Cotton", p. 141.

207. DEPUTATION NOTES - II

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 17, 1906

INTERVIEWS WITH LEADERS : SYMPATHY AND PROMISE OF HELP

The last week has been very busy. We have had not a moment's leisure. We saw Mr. Theodore Morison of Aligarh and the well-known Mr. Stead of the *Review of Reviews*. Mr. Stead has boldly come out to give us all the help he can. He was therefore requested to write to the Boer leaders that they should not consider Indians as being on the same level as Kaffirs.[1]

We also saw Miss Smith, a lady who contributes to the *Punjabee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Miss Winterbottom, the Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, has promised to render all possible help.[2]

We had an interview on Transvaal and Natal matters with the Private Secretary to Lord Elgin. We talked about many things, and we may hope for some satisfactory results. From Mr. Churchill's reply to Sir Henry Cotton it appears that, for the present at least, the Ordinance will not receive assent.

The Pan-Islamic Society has made a representation to Lord Elgin, saying that the feelings of the Muslim community have been greatly hurt by the application of the Ordinance to Turkish Muslims, while the Christians and the Jews of Turkey have been excluded from its purview. Thus, help is being received from all quarters.

Mr. Ally had an interview with Sir Richard Solomon and because of this too, we have some ground for hope.

DR. GODFREY'S PETITION[3]

There is no rose without thorns. And these hopes have a thorn in the shape of Dr. Godfrey's petition. I am not depressed on this account. Neither need it hurt our feelings. We should not be angry with Dr. Godfrey. He is a child and lacks understanding. Often he is unaware of his own folly. He deserves pity rather than scorn. Lord Elgin's secretary showed us his petition, in which he states that the Indian community has given no authority to Messrs Gandhi and

[1] *Vide* "Letter to W. T. Stead", p. 168.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Miss F. Winterbottom", p. 157.
[3] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 196-202.

Ally. Mr. Gandhi was a paid agitator and had amassed money through that trade. The whites of Durban had beaten him up in 1896[1] and driven him away. His activities had resulted in great harm and created differences between the whites and the Coloured people. One Mr. Abdool Gani was the Chairman [of the British Indian Association] and he knew nothing [of all this]. Mr. Ally was a rebel who wanted to establish the authority of the Calif[2] in political matters also. The petition bears the signatures of Dr. Godfrey and Mr. C. M. Pillay. They also state that many persons did not sign the petition as they were afraid of the Association. Besides the petition, there is a document which is said to have been signed by 437 Indians. It says that Messrs Gandhi and Ally have no authority to act on behalf of the Indian community. The best part of the petition is now known to the public as Sir Henry Cotton asked a question about it in Parliament. As the question was raised by many, Sir Muncherji has addressed a letter [to *The Times*] on it, but this has not yet been published. Mr. Gandhi, too, has written one. And the two brothers of Dr. Godfrey who have been actively assisting the Deputation have also written to the Press. When all these letters are published, it is expected that the storm will blow over. It is necessary that all this news be published; it need not, however, cause any nervousness.

ARTICLES IN LONDON "TIMES"

A formidable article appeared last Saturday in *The Times*. A copy of it was despatched last week. In the article written by Sir Roper Lethbridge also, it is stated that India is very unhappy because of the sufferings of the Indian community.

PERMANENT COMMITTEE

The cablegram sanctioning the setting up of the permanent committee has been received. Accordingly a room has been rented for a year; £40 will have to be paid as rent. Sir Muncherji has helped a lot. He will probably become the chairman of the committee. Furniture worth £25 has been purchased. It is proposed to give a thanksgiving dinner to all the gentlemen who have helped us, and to announce the formation of the committee on that occasion. As the time is short, it remains to be seen how much of all this can be done. Mr. Ritch will work as secretary of the committee. As his financial position is not satisfactory, a nominal sum of £7.10.0 to £10 a month will have to be paid to him. He will give all his time to the committee. He is speaking on the 26th before the East India Association. If possible, I shall give

[1] It was really in 1897.
[2] The original has "Sultan".

a summary[1] of his speech next week. There is reason to hope that much of our work can be looked after by the committee. It should receive help from all over South Africa. Sir Muncherji has suggested that it may be named South Africa British Indian Vigilance Committee.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 15-12-1906

208. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MORLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE JOHN MORLEY
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
INDIA OFFICE
LONDON

SIR,

I now beg to enclose herewith list of the members of the deputation who will accompany Mr. Ally and myself on Thursday next.

In accordance with the desire expressed by Mr. Morley, the number of members has been restricted as much as possible. Many others have expressed their sympathy and were ready to join the deputation but for the reason above mentioned they are not coming.

I venture also to enclose two copies of Representations[2] submitted to Lord Elgin which give a resume of the position.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

3 enclosures

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4595

[1] *Vide* "Ritch's Speech at East India Association", p. 255-7.

[2] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 45-54 and "Memorial to Lord Elgin", pp. 110-2.

[ENCLOSURE]

List of gentlemen who, together with the two Delegates from the British Indians of the Transvaal, will form the deputation to wait on the Right Hon'ble John Morley, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India, on the 22nd day of November, 1906:

1. The Rt. Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley
2. The Rt. Hon. Sir Chas. Dilke
3. Sir Lepel Griffin
4. Sir Henry Cotton
5. Sir M. M. Bhownaggree
6. Sir Charles Schwann
7. Sir William Wedderburn
8. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji
9. Mr. Harold Cox
10. Mr. Ameer Ali
11. Mr. J. D. Rees
12. Mr. Theodore Morison
13. Mr. T. J. Bennett
14. Mr. W. Arathoon
15. Dr. T. H. Thornton
16. Dr. Rutherford
17. Mr. Lorain Petre
18. Mr. L. W. Ritch
19. Mr. A. H. Scott.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4617

209. LETTER TO J. D. REES

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for your offering to join the proposed committee as also to become a member of the executive committee.

Both Mr. Ally and I agree that this question should be kept aloof from all parties and that it should stand on its own merits.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

J. D. REES, ESQ.
CRAEGYNOG
NEW TOWN
MONTGOMERYSHIRE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4596

210. LETTER TO MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

MESSRS WOOLGAR & ROBERTS
58, FLEET STREET, E.C.

DEAR SIRS,

I now enclose herewith cheque for £1.10.0 for press cuttings.

From and after the 28th instant, will you please address all the cuttings to L. W. Ritch, Esq., Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee, No. 28, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4597

211. LETTER TO W. ARATHOON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR MR. ARATHOON,

Sir Lepel Griffin thinks that you should join the deputation to Mr. Morley on Thursday the 22nd instant at 12.20 p.m. at the India Office. I have therefore taken the liberty of sending your name to Mr. Morley as a member of the deputation and I hope it will be convenient for you to attend.

I have left the papers I talked to you about at your office. Mr. Ritch and I went over to your office to see you, but you were away.

Yours truly,

W. ARATHOON, ESQ.
SECRETARY
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
3, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS
VICTORIA STREET

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4598

212. LETTER TO SIR WALTER LAWRENCE[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I have arrived from South Africa as a Deputation on behalf of the British Indians in the Transvaal. We would be obliged if you would be good enough to give us an opportunity to place the position before you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR WALTER LAWRENCE, K.C.I.E.[2]
SLOANE STREET, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4599

213. LETTER TO EMPIRE TYPEWRITING COMPANY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

THE SECRETARY
THE EMPIRE TYPEWRITING COMPANY
77, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.

DEAR SIR,

I have your receipt with memo endorsed regarding the hire of a typewriter from your office. My representative who called on you tells me that the terms arranged with you were 15/- per month for the

[1] A copy of this letter was sent to Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Chesterfield, College Road, Norwood, S.E.

[2] (1857-1940); Indian Civil servant and author of *India We Served*

typewriter I am using. He tells me also that it was in your personal interest that you gave the new typewriter in order to advertise the machine. If therefore you think that you would much rather that I used an old machine for 15/-, the new one may be removed and an old one sent instead.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4601

214. LETTER TO CLEMENTS PRINTING WORKS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

THE MANAGER
THE CLEMENTS PRINTING WORKS
PORTUGAL STREET
STRAND

DEAR SIR,

Your statement addressed to Mr. Ritch and sent to Mr. Polak has been handed to me for settlement. I now enclose my cheque for £4.9.0 and the receipt herewith which please discharge.

Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4602

215. LETTER TO HEAD MASTER, COUNTY SCHOOL[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

THE HEAD MASTER
COUNTY SCHOOL
BEDFORD

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 19th instant for which I thank you. I am afraid I cannot leave London. My friend Mr. L. W. Ritch will therefore present the young man to you and you can then examine him.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary, County School", pp. 180-1.

Mr. Ritch will show you the certificate also. Mr. Ritch will be there on Friday leaving St. Pancras by the 2.5 train.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4603

216. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM MARKBY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I have arrived here as a Deputation on behalf of the British Indians in the Transvaal. It is proposed, in order that the work may be continued, to form a permanent committee in which Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and others are interesting themselves. Mr. Ally and I will be pleased if you will kindly allow your name to appear as a member of the committee.

I have to enclose herewith some papers in connection with the present position of the British Indians in the Transvaal.

If you are in London any time during this week or the next, we would consider it an honour to pay our respects to you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

SIR WILLIAM MARKBY[1]
HEADINGTON HILL
OXFORD

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4604

[1] (1829-1914); lawyer and jurist; Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1866-78

217. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO A.J. BALFOUR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF
THE RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR
4, CARLTON GARDENS
PALL MALL

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to Mr. Balfour[1] for your letter of the 19th instant. I venture to state that the Delegates have already approached Mr. Lyttelton who has kindly granted an appointment.

As the leader of the Conservative Party and ex-Prime Minister, we would deem it an honour if the Right Hon'ble gentleman will allow us to pay our respects to him.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4605

218. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MILNER

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF
LORD MILNER
46, DUKE STREET

DEAR SIR,

I beg to thank His Lordship for consenting to receive the Delegates. Mr. Ally and I will do ourselves the honour of waiting on His Lordship on Thursday next at 4 o'clock at the office of the Rhodes' Trust.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4606

[1] Arthur James Balfour, (1848-1930); philosopher and statesman, Prime Minister of Great Britain; he was at this time a Member of Parliament.

219. LETTER TO LORD REAY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

MY LORD,

I had the honour to call on Your Lordship and also to write. Presuming that my letter[1] has escaped Your Lordship's attention, I venture to write again requesting an appointment for Mr. Ally and myself who have arrived here as a Deputation on behalf of the British Indians in the Transvaal. If Your Lordship could spare a few minutes, we shall be very much obliged.

I have the honour to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD REAY
6, GREAT STANHOPE STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4607

220. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO W. CHURCHILL

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF
WINSTON CHURCHILL, ESQ.
HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
WHITEHALL

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to Mr. Churchill for your letter of the 15th instant.

Mr. Ally and I have sought an interview[2] with Mr. Churchill in order that we may place the whole position before him and pay our respects to him. As there will be hardly another occasion when we will be able to travel to England in connection with the general British Indian position in the Transvaal and as there will be probably much legislative activity on Responsible Government being granted and as we have only discussed with Lord Elgin the Asiatic Law Amendment

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Reay", p. 39.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to W. Churchill", p. 161.

Ordinance, we shall appreciate [it as] a great favour if Mr. Churchill will be pleased to grant us a private interview.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4608

221. LETTER TO A. LYTTELTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

SIR,

Mr. Ally and I are greatly obliged to you for giving us an appointment. We shall do ourselves the honour of waiting on you on Friday next at 4 o'clock at the House of Commons.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. LYTTELTON
16, COLLEGE STREET
WESTMINSTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4609

222. LETTER TO MESSRS ARCHIBALD AND CONSTABLE & CO.

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

MESSRS ARCHIBALD AND CONSTABLE & CO.
16, JAMES STREET
HAYMARKET, S.W.

DEAR SIRS,

With reference to your letter of the 13th instant I am sorry I have mislaid the form to be filled in. I shall thank you to let me have two copies of Mr. Ameer Ali's book, *Islam*[1], addressed as above if it is

[1] *The Spirit of Islam,* which Gandhiji wanted to translate and summarize for the benefit of the Gujarati readers of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* "Books to be Published", pp. 270-1.

obtainable before the 28th instant, otherwise addressed Box 6522, Johannesburg.

I enclose herewith 24 stamps.

Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4610

223. LETTER TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR MUNCHERJI,

Mr. Ally, Mr. Ritch and I will wait on you tomorrow at 11.30 unless I hear to the contrary.

I am,
Yours truly,

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE
196, CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4611

224. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES DILKE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the deputation that is to wait on Mr. Morley at the India Office on Thursday next at 12.20, Mr. Ally and I will appreciate it [as] a great favour if you will be good enough to attend as suggested in your letter.

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,

THE RT. HON. SIR CHAS. DILKE, BART., M.P.
76, SLOANE STREET, S.W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4613

225. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

DEAR SIR GEORGE,

I thank you for your note of the 17th instant. I appreciate the suggestion you have made as to the name of the Committee. Subject to Sir Muncherji's approval, the word "Vigilance" will be struck off.

Mr. Ally and I thank you for your consenting to join the Committee. I await your letter in an amended form as promised by you.

Yours faithfully,

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD
119, THE AVENUE
WEST EALING

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4614

226. LETTER TO EDITOR, "SOUTH AFRICA"

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

THE EDITOR
SOUTH AFRICA
LONDON

DEAR SIR,

Lord Elgin's Private Secretary has now supplied me with a copy of the Minutes of the proceedings before him at the time the Transvaal British Indian Deputation waited on his Lordship. His Lordship's instructions are that if the proceedings are published at all they should be published *in toto*. I therefore send the Minutes for your perusal. Unless you wish to publish them in [full,] I shall thank you to return same after use.

Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4612

227. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C. 2,
November 20, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF
THE EARL OF ELGIN
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the interview that Mr. Ally and I had with you and Mr. Just in connection with the "petition" received from Dr. Godfrey and another and the papers said to be signed by 437 Indians and in connection with matters arising out of His Lordship's reply to the Deputation that waited on him on the 8th day of November, in accordance with your instructions, Mr. Ally and I submit herewith a written statement for submission to His Lordship.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure

[ENCLOSURE]

STATEMENT BY THE DELEGATES ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL REGARDING THE "PETITION" FROM DR. WILLIAM GODFREY AND ANOTHER AND OTHER MATTERS

"THE PETITION"

1. The "petition" is signed by Dr. William Godfrey and C. M. Pillay both of whom are personally known to the Delegates.

2. Petitioner William Godfrey is a doctor of Edinburgh University and is practising in Johannesburg.

3. The petitioner C. M. Pillay is an interpreter of no standing. He has been found to be the worse for liquor and may be described as a loafer.

4. So far as the recollection of the Delegates serves rightly, the points made in the "petition" are as follows:

(a) Delegates have no mandate from the general body of Indians.

(b) Mr. Gandhi is a professional agitator who has made money out of his work.
(c) Mr. Gandhi has caused an estrangement between Europeans and Indians and his advocacy has resulted in harm to the community.
(d) He was mobbed at Durban by the European community.
(e) He is proprietor of *Indian Opinion.*
(f) Mr. Ally is Chairman and founder of a politico-religious body which has as its object recognition of the Sultan as both the spiritual and political head of the Moslems.
(g) A Mr. Abdul Ganie is President of the British Indian Association.
(h) The petitioners have not been able to receive support for their contentions because of the intimidation on the part of the British Indian Association.

5. As to (a), the Delegates enclose herewith letter[1] signed by the Chairman of the British Indian Association. Their election was unanimous. It took place at a meeting of the Association that was largely attended. There was no protest sent to the Association although the election was before the public for a long time.

6. As to (b), Mr. Gandhi has received no remuneration for his public work throughout his thirteen years' career. He has from time to time contributed to the funds of the Association. The work has been purely a labour of love. His Lordship is further referred to correspondence that took place in *The Star* of Johannesburg on the 25th October in refutation of a somewhat similar statement made by *The Star* on the 23rd October.

7. As to (c), Mr. Gandhi is totally unaware of any estrangement having taken place between Europeans and Indians by reason of his advocacy; on the contrary, his supreme effort has been to bring about a reconciliation between the two communities, such being the avowed object of the Natal Indian Congress, of which he was the honorary Secretary and one of the founders, [and] of the British Indian Association of which he is the present Secretary. On this point His Lordship is further referred to the following letter from the late Sir John Robinson, which is one among many received from distinguished residents at the time of his departure for India in 1901:

> I beg to thank you for your kind invitation to the meeting at the Congress Hall this evening (October 15, 1901). It would have given me great pleasure to have been present on the occasion of so well-earned a mark of respect to our able and distinguished fellow-citizen, Mr. Gandhi, but unfortunately my state of health prevents my going out at night, and I am for the present debarred from taking part in any public function, so I must ask you to kindly excuse my inability to attend.

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *South Africa*", p. 172, and also Vol. V, p. 458.

> Not the less heartily do I wish all success to this public recognition of the good work done and the many services rendered to the community by Mr. Gandhi.[1]

The chief reason for his having organized the Indian Ambulance Corps at the time of the Boer War[2] and the Indian Stretcher[-Bearer] Corps at the time of the Native Rebellion, was to bring about such [re]conciliation, by showing that British Indians were not unworthy to be citizens of the Empire and were capable of recognizing their obligations if they also insisted on their rights.

8. As to (d), it is true that Mr. Gandhi was mobbed on the 13th January, 1897 on his return from India on a misrepresentation about his advocacy of the Natal Indian cause in India. Public apology was given to him on the 14th and when the whole of the position became known, the late Mr. Escombe invited him to see him and ever since that time he had the privilege of enjoying the late Mr. Escombe's friendship. The late Mr. Escombe at his request blessed the leaders of the Natal Indian Ambulance Corps and of his own accord gave them a tea party and made a very eulogistic and public-spirited speech on the occasion.[3] After the mobbing incident, he remained in Durban up to his return to India in 1901.

9. As to (e), it is true that Mr. Gandhi is the real proprietor of *Indian Opinion* from which no profits are made and to which he has devoted the whole of his savings. There are two Englishmen associated with him in that work and they and several Indians have, for the sake of the paper, reduced themselves to voluntary pauperism. The paper is being run on Tolstoy's and Ruskin's lines. Its publicly declared mission is to bring the two communities together and become an educative medium for the Indian community.

10. As to (f)[4], the terms in which Mr. Abdul Ganie has been spoken of are most derogatory and a product of ignorance. He is the managing partner of one of the most flourishing firms of Indian merchants in South Africa. Mr. Abdul Ganie has been the unchallenged President of the Association since its inception. He is a resident of the Transvaal of 25 years' standing and has come in contact with most of the British officials including High Commissioners and is very well known and is respected by European merchants of standing.

11. As to (g)[5], Mr. Ally's whole life in South Africa, that is to say a period of twenty-three years, has been devoted to the service of the

[1] *Vide* also Vol. III, p. 160.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 129, and pp. 137-41.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 129.
[4] This should really be "(g)". *Vide* summary of petition in para 4, p. 197.
[5] This should be "(f)".

Empire. He had the honour of coming in personal touch with Sir Richard Solomon, the late Lord Loch, the late Lord Rosemead, Dr. Jamieson, Sir Gordon Sprigg, Sir James Sievright and the present officials in the Transvaal. He was asked by the Cape Government, at the time of the Malay discontent, regarding the position of a burial ground, to quell the discontent which he was successful in doing and for which he was thanked by the Government. This was in 1885. He has had the honour often to speak—being a voter himself at the Cape—on public platforms in support of the British Party candidate as opposed to Bond candidates. His free services were utilized by the Uitlander Committee for receiving signatures to the petition that was forwarded to the late Queen in connection with the Uitlander grievances.

It is untrue that the Hamidia Islamic Society, of which he is the Founder and President, has as its object recognition of the Sultan as the political head of the Moslem world. It is formed essentially to help poor Moslems, to defray the expenses of the burials of poor Moslems, to do among them the work of social regeneration and to remove their special hardships.

Sir Richard Solomon, whom Mr. Ally saw on Friday last, has kindly consented that his name might be mentioned to His Lordship as guarantee of his intense loyalty and devotion to the Empire, if such be needed.

12. As to (h), the allegation of intimidation is devoid of foundation. Poor people, who would be the greatest sufferers under the Ordinance, do not require the slightest encouragement to make an effort for their deliverance from the impending calamity, for such it undoubtedly is to them.

The Delegates respectfully claim to be the most moderate exponents of the sentiments of over 10,000 Indians in the Colony of the Transvaal. It is not possible to give His Lordship an adequate notion of the bitter feeling engendered by the Ordinance. Many Europeans, including a government official, were present at the great Mass Meeting, which resolved, without a dissentient voice, to send a deputation. The visitors fully realized the depth of feeling to which the community was moved. His Lordship is referred for a description of the meeting to *The Star*, *The Leader* and *The Rand Daily Mail* which published fairly full reports of the meeting.

Suggested Explanation of Petitioner's Conduct

13. Dr. Godfrey is a hot-headed youth, without any experience of practical life in the world. He only finished his studies over two years ago. He has never before, except in connection with the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, come forward to do public work. He himself attended the Mass Meeting and spoke on the principal resolutions, including the resolutions condemning the Ordinance, appointing a

commission and advocating going to gaol in preference to the submission to the carrying of passes. When the time came for selecting the delegates, he came forward as a candidate but was not selected. He sent a telegram at Cape Town wishing success to Mr. Ally and has given him a note of introduction to his wife's parents in Edinburgh, which reads as follows:

> This is to introduce to you one of our best of friends Mr. H. O. Ally. He is leaving here to fight the Indian cause and after his battles he will no doubt take a trip to Scotland. He will wire by what train he will be coming up and on what date. By religion he is an Islam and as such I will write you in detail as to the modes of their living especially as regards to their food and I hope (after my next week's letters) you will make him as happy and cheery as you can during his stay in Edinburgh. Don't forget to let him have a sight of the glorious F. Bridge and our ain little wee lael home at Tynecastle Terrace. John I have no doubt will know Mr. Ally well. It is the same who gave him the confetti before he left.
>
> *Yours aff* [*ectionately,*]
> (signed) WILLIAM

The original is hereto attached for His Lordship's inspection. He was for a long time one of Mr. Gandhi's clients and he was associated with Mr. Gandhi in nursing the plague patients in 1904 and at the time did very valuable work for the relief of the patients. The only way therefore his conduct can be explained is to ascribe it to his hot-headedness. The disappointment in this connection seems to have unhinged his mind. That appears to be the most charitable construction to place upon his conduct, otherwise his strong condemnation of the Ordinance, his strong recommendation to Mr. Ally, would be inconsistent with the despatch of the petition. From the following cablegram received by the Delegates and already sent to His Lordship,[1] it would appear that 437 Indian signatures taken on a separate document have been received on false pretences:

> Have affidavits Godfrey obtained signatures blank paper false pretences using name bias (code word for British Indian Association) signatures now withdrawn cabling (Lord) Elgin papers publish full report conference.

14. The Delegates have been obliged painfully and reluctantly to make the above statements, not in the slightest degree with the intention of injuring Dr. Godfrey or his associate and if they have been obliged to say anything regarding themselves, it is from a sense of paramount duty they owe to their countrymen, whose interests they have the honour to represent. As the personal element has been introduced here by the "petition" and in Johannesburg by *The Star*, it has become necessary to show respectfully to His Lordship that, so far as the personal element is to count in the controversy, the position held by the Delegates, in their humble opinion, would weigh, after the most searching examination in favour of the community. They would very much rather

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 145.

that the whole of the Ordinance were examined on its merits and they would therefore respectfully proceed to dwell upon some of the points that arise from His Lordship's reply to the Deputation.

Lord Elgin's Reply : No Permit under Law 3 of 1885

15. His Lordship is under the impression that there were permits under the Law 3 of 1885 during the Boer regime and that the Boer administration was lax in the administration of the permit law. The Delegates respectfully venture to state that the Boer law did not require any permits at all. The receipts given for £3 therefore were not inaccurate. They were not permits authorizing entry or residence. There was no restriction on immigration contemplated by Law 3 of 1885, as the law itself shows. There was therefore no question of identification.

The permits came into vogue only after the introduction of the Peace Preservation Ordinance of the British regime.

This distinction is very material in order to show that the Asiatic Ordinance, now for consideration before His Lordship, is not an amendment but a new law. It does not make accurate that which was inaccurate under the Boer regime. It creates a new disability.

Voluntary Thumb-marks

16. It is respectfully submitted that the voluntary act of the Indian community in putting thumb-marks on permits and registration certificates was performed gracefully to please Lord Milner and to avoid legislation compelling such performance. It is therefore hardly fair to use the act as a precedent against the community.

New Registration

17. The statement that new registration will give a final and indefeasible title to those who are registered is again, in the humble opinion of the Delegates, not in consonance with facts. The title of those who hold permits is today indefeasible in law. The new Ordinance would actually cancel that title and not give it. After dispossessing the community of what it already possesses, it will restore a new title of doubtful value circumscribed by galling requirements and penalties. It will, therefore, restore to the community only a part of what will be taken away from it.

Inspection

18. Under the new Ordinance, it is possible to carry on a daily inspection. The assurance given to His Lordship, that the inspection will be yearly, is beside the mark. There is no guarantee of the same executive authority remaining in office. The experience of the community almost invariably has been that arbitrary power given to the

executive in South Africa has been arbitrarily and almost fully exercised against British Indians. When a restrictive law is passed against a community labouring under popular prejudice, the executive has been powerless to resist popular demand for full enforcement of restrictions. This has happened even with the present executive in respect of Law 3 of 1885 and Peace Preservation Ordinance. So much has this been the case that the Indian community has had to go to the Supreme Court in order to resist the attempt of the executive to read into the above laws meanings they are not ordinarily capable of bearing.

PRAYER

19. It is for the Indian community a matter almost of life and death. It is respectfully urged that the matter can only be properly sifted by a judicial commission. If His Lordship is not satisfied as to the full justice of the Indian contention, it is submitted that the decision should be suspended pending the inquiry of a commission.

M. K. GANDHI
H. O. ALLY

[2 enclosures]

From a photostat of the typewritten original: C. O. 291, Vol. 113/Ind.; also a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4545

228. LETTER TO LORD STANLEY[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 20, 1906

MY LORD,

May I remind you that Mr. Morley receives the deputation regarding the Transvaal British Indians on Thursday at 12.20 and that the members meet at 12 o'clock at the India Office?

I remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THE RT. HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY
18, MANSFIELD STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4616

[1] A note in the office copy initialled by J. W. Godfrey says that, although this letter was not eventually sent, copies were sent to Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, L. W. Ritch, Sir William Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, Harold Cox, Ameer Ali, T. H. Thornton, J. D. Rees, Theodore Morison, T. J. Bennett, W. Arathoon and Dr. Rutherford.

229. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO A. J. BALFOUR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE A. J. BALFOUR
4, CARLTON GARDENS
PALL MALL

DEAR SIR,

Will you please convey Mr. Ally's and my thanks to Mr. Balfour for saying he will be present at the interview Mr. Lyttelton is giving us at the House of Commons next Friday at 4 o'clock.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4618

230. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO CHURCHILL

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

G. C. WILLIAMS, ESQ.
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
THE COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET

DEAR SIR,

I shall be obliged if you will kindly convey to Mr. Winston Churchill the thanks of Mr. Ally and myself for consenting to receive us at the Colonial Office. We shall wait[1] on Mr. Churchill at 12 noon on the 27th instant.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4619

[1] The original has "await".

231. LETTER TO SECRETARY, NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

THE SECRETARY
NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB
WHITEHALL, S. W.

DEAR SIR,

I shall thank you to redirect to the above address the letter lying for me at the Club.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4620

232. LETTER TO G. W. M. GRIGG

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am obliged to you for your letter of the 20th instant, enclosing papers handed to you by Mr. Morison. Mr. Ally and I venture to trust that you will continue your interest in a question that, in my opinion, is of Imperial importance.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

G. W. M. GRIGG, ESQ.
THE OUTLOOK
167, STRAND, W.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4621

233. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

DEAR MR. BROWN,

Sir Lepel mentioned that you would like to join the deputation on behalf of *The Times of India*. Mr. Morley has sent a message saying that he would like to treat the deputation as private. I do not know whether under the circumstances you should attend. I suggest that you be at the India Office tomorrow and see what Sir Lepel thinks of the instructions sent by Mr. Morley. When I saw Sir Lepel, the instructions had not been received.

While I am dictating this I see your postcard. The time given by Mr. Morley is 12.20. The balance of your questions are already answered.

Yours truly,

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.
"DILKUSHA"
WESTBOURNE ROAD
FOREST HILL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4622

234. LETTER TO REMINGTON TYPEWRITER CO.

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

THE MANAGER
THE REMINGTON TYPEWRITER CO.
100, GRACECHURCH STREET, E.C.

DEAR SIR,

Will you kindly have your machine now removed and let me have your bill.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4623

235. LETTER TO SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

DEAR SIR,

On behalf of Mr. Ally and myself I beg to thank you for your very sympathetic letter to *The Times* regarding the British Indians and their position in the Transvaal.

I venture to enclose herewith a copy of the Representation submitted to Lord Elgin. If you could give us an appointment, Mr. Ally and I will wait on you regarding our mission.

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE
CARLTON CLUB, W.C.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4624

236. LETTER TO S. HOLLICK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

DEAR MR. HOLLICK,

I wonder if you are having any more success with your canvassing of the signatures for the petition[1]. The time is now ripe for presentation.

The deputation waits on Mr. Morley tomorrow.

Yours truly,

S. HOLLICK, ESQ.
62, LONDON WALL, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4625

[1] *Vide* "Draft Petition to Lord Elgin", pp. 106-7.

237. LETTER TO BRITISH COMMITTEE OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

THE SECRETARY
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS
WESTMINSTER

DEAR MR. HALL,

With reference to the £3.10.0 paid by Mr. Naoroji on a cablegram sent by the British Indian Association of Johannesburg, will you kindly deduct the amount from the draft forwarded to Sir William Wedderburn.

Will you also kindly send to the Secretary of the Hamidia Society, Box 6031, Johannesburg, *India* regularly. I will bring the annual subscription when I am over there.

I am,
Yours truly,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4626

238. LETTER TO H. E. A. COTTON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 21, 1906

DEAR MR. COTTON,

Will you please reproduce letter[1] from *The Times* by Godfrey brothers as also the interview[2] with me published in *South Africa* dated 17th instant. I think there is a great deal in the current issue of the *Indian Opinion* worth reproducing. Perhaps the most important article is the reproduction from *The Times of Natal*, page 788. I think too that the report, under the heading, The British Indian Association and the Indian Deputation, at the same page should also be [re]produced.

[1] Of November 15, 1906; reproduced in *India*, 23-11-1906

[2] "Interview to *South Africa*", pp. 171-2.

I have sent you already the names of those who are to wait on Mr. Morley tomorrow.

Yours truly,

H. E. A. COTTON, ESQ.
THE EDITOR
INDIA
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS
WESTMINSTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4627

239. DEPUTATION TO MORLEY

The following is a report of the interview between Mr. Morley, Secretary of State for India, and the deputation representing Brittish Indians in South Africa:

[LONDON,
November 22, 1906]

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: I have the honour, sir, to head this deputation today in order to present to you two Delegates from South Africa, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ally.

I would like to say with reference to Mr. Gandhi and a somewhat silly petition which has been sent from South Africa against him and his mission that this was the work of some mischievous schoolboy, and every one who knows Mr. Gandhi, or has been associated with his work for many years, as I have been, knows his single-hearted devotion to this particular cause and that without any personal motive or any reward. His methods and his motives have been altogether disinterested—to this I can pledge myself.

One thing that I think I may say without presumption is this. No one knows better than you, sir, how strong the feeling of India is on this point. It has been brought before the India Office and the Colonial Office by successive Viceroys and Indian Secretaries; and Colonial Secretaries themselves have, in reply to the memorials which I have had the honour myself to submit to them, expressed quite as warm sympathy with the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa as Indian Viceroys or Indian Secretaries at home. That point does not require any elaboration. The position between England and her Colonies seems to me very much like that which is now existing between the Central Government of the United States and the State of California, and that position will become aggravated in many parts of the world. ('Hear! Hear!') The difficulty of the case is, of course, exceedingly great. You have two opposite positions, one represented by the clear and somewhat crude position, which nevertheless has a dignified and a worthy basis—that every British subject under the English flag should be free in his person and to carry on everywhere, without interruption, honourably any occupation he may see fit to undertake. ('Hear! Hear!') That applies, sir, to the whole Empire, and it is met on the opposite side by the position, which opposes reduction of the wages of labour—so far as white people are concerned, of course, the desire, and the proper desire, is that the rate of wages should rise. The introduction of a very industrious, temperate class, who can live on very little, tends to lower the rate of earnings of white people who cannot live on so small a sum. These are the two

opposite poles, and they have to be connected peaceably by some bridge which we ask you, sir, to try and build.

And I would also say, sir, that for two reasons you are the one person who can satisfy the claims of this exceedingly complicated case. In the first place, you hold the keys which shut and which unloose as Secretary of State for India.

Let me explain in one word. Take Natal, for example. I have more than once, as Chairman of the East India Association, sent petitions to the Secretary of State for India, urging that no indentured coolies be allowed to go to Natal until the status of their fellow-subjects in South Africa is altered. Natal cannot get on without the Indians, and yet it persecutes them: and it persecuted them in old days much worse than the Transvaal did: and their position is no better now, although Natal requires Indian coolies every year more and more because English colonists cannot do the field work themselves. These are not countries which Englishmen can ever colonize.

That, sir, is all that I think it is necessary to say, but I shall make a final personal appeal to you by saying that the other reason why I think you of all men are the one who can settle this question is that one of the classics you have given to the English people is a work[1] on compromise, in which I have very little doubt that the key to this exceedingly complicated question will be found.

MR. GANDHI: On behalf of my colleague, Mr. Ally and myself, I beg to tender you our respectful thanks for giving to us an opportunity of placing our position before you, sir. But I do not make any apology for trespassing upon your most valuable time, because I think, sir, that we have a right to come to you, our responsible advocate and trustee, whenever we find our interests are in danger. The Asiatic Ordinance was, as Sir Lepel Griffin has said, approved by Lord Elgin, I believe, under a misapprehension. The Ordinance, in my humble opinion, departs from the Colonial policy hitherto followed in connection with Colonial legislation. In my humble opinion it is without any justification whatever in that it draws, with reference to free immigrants, a colour-line against which Colonial Secretaries as well as Indian Secretaries have repeatedly protested, and protested with success. The Ordinance has been described by one of the South African colonists as one which will make us go about the streets with dog's collars, and an indignant Indian at one of the meetings said that the treatment which would be meted out to us would be that, not of the colonial dog because he is a household pet, but of the Indian dog, which is a vile dog. I know that that was the bitterness of feeling that was engendered throughout the great mass of my community. I cannot help saying, sir, that the feeling that was given vent to by the great meeting at Krugersdorp was fully justified by the experience of British Indians over and over again throughout the Transvaal as well as other parts of South Africa. The reasons given for the introduction of the Ordinance have been stated in an inspired article in *The Star* as well as by Mr. Duncan, viz., that there is an unauthorized influx of Asiatics or British Indians into the Transvaal, and that the British Indian community is countenancing

[1] The reference is to Morley's essay, *On Compromise*.

and encouraging such Asiatic influx. I think, sir, that that charge, or both of the charges, can be proved to be absolutely false. When they talk of an unauthorized influx, they mean that the British Indians enter the Transvaal without any permits, evading the police, and entering surreptitiously in defiance of the Peace Preservation Ordinance, which should regulate the entry of all, but which really regulates the entry of British Indians into the Transvaal. The census was taken, and at the time of the census there were found to be 10,000 British Indians as against 12,000 permits, which by itself, in my humble opinion, disposes of the charge of surreptitious entry. If that charge is disposed of, it follows that there cannot be any encouragement on the part of the British Indian community.

There have been during the last two years no less than 150 prosecutions—namely, 150 British Indians have been turned out by force. I do not know whether all these prosecutions were correctly brought, but the fact stands that these Indians were turned out. The Peace Preservation Ordinance has been strong enough to prevent Indian wives from accompanying their husbands; it has been strong enough to prevent Indian children of tender age from entering the Transvaal because they did not hold permits. The legislation that is at present in existence, the Peace Preservation Ordinance, is quite enough to prevent the surreptitious entry of British Indians. Anyhow, both these statements have been repeatedly denied by British Indians, and it is for that reason that we have been asking the local Government to appoint a small commission to inquire whether there has been really any such influx whatever.

I do not think, however, that it is necessary for me to take up a long time; I have sent in a representation to Lord Elgin, which places before him the whole of our position; but I do wish to mention one thing, and that is the colonial feeling. I have been studying the history of restrictive legislation throughout South Africa—at any rate, during the last thirteen years—and I well remember that in 1894 Lord Ripon vetoed the Disenfranchising Bill because it applied to Asiatics alone. Mr. Chamberlain disapproved of a draft bill that was submitted in 1897 in connection with a restriction on British Indians. Mr. Chamberlain then said that he could not allow a colour-line to be drawn in legislation with the object of restricting Asiatic and British immigration, and hence we had the law of 1897. A similar veto was applied without the slightest hesitation with reference to the Asiatic Exclusion Bill in the Australian Parliament. But, sir, in the Transvaal—also only last year, I believe it was, or in 1904—the Legislative Council passed the Native Land Tenure Bill, and I think it was passed without a single dissentient; but there was no hesitation whatsoever on the part of Mr. Lyttelton o tveto the Land Tenure Bill. Now, sir, there is a wide distinction between

that Bill and the present Ordinance, and I venture to think that there was not, perhaps, held so strong an objection to that legislation as there is to this legislation, because it did not debar the Natives of the Transvaal from holding landed property. It only meant Natives who held landed property; but even that was considered by Mr. Lyttelton as being too strong, and he had no hesitation in vetoing that legislation.

Much has been said with reference to the colonial sentiment against British Indians; I have no hesitation, sir, strange as it may appear, in denying any such sentiment. 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating.' The British Indians live in the Transvaal only because they are tolerated by the white colonists there. They may have to go to the British or white landlords for the land; they have to go to the white merchants for their goods, in respect of which they receive six months' credit. If there was real substantial general opposition against British Indians, I think, sir, that their existence would not be worth a day's purchase. A meeting was held by the Mayor of Krugersdorp, which was attended by a few white men, who passed a resolution that they would boycott British Indians in connection with land purchase and sale. That boycott did not stand for one single day. There is only one place throughout the Transvaal where they have tried to boycott with success. We think we shall be able to work out our own salvation if only the prejudice which is restricted to the petty white store-keepers who are protected by the Government is removed. If this is not done, I can quite understand that our position must become intolerable; but otherwise, I think, sir, that it is possible even now to retain the position that we have in the Transvaal.

MR. MORLEY: Are you speaking now, Mr. Gandhi, of the position of those who are already resident in the Transvaal?

MR. GANDHI: Yes, sir; the Ordinance applies solely to those who are now resident, and those who are to enter the Transvaal under the Peace Preservation Ordinance. I may say with reference to future immigration that my friend, Mr. Ally, will probably deal with that point; and I may parenthetically remark that we have surrendered the whole position, and we have accepted the principle of restriction along the line[s] of the Cape Act, the only Act which, without drawing a colour-line, restricts British Indians from entering the Colonies because of the educational test—a very severe test. But we have thought it wise and prudent that we should accept that position even with reference to trading licenses. We have said that we would be quite willing to have our rights with reference to new trading licenses regulated and controlled by the municipal bodies; only such legislation ought also to apply to all, and not only to British Indians. My experience is that, wherever legislation is applied to a class of people, such legislation has worked very harshly; but when there is general legislation, such relief is possible

to obtain. I venture to think, sir, that the Government does not mean to oppress those who are voiceless and voteless. I mention this fact not because we want political power. We have made it clear that, so far as British Indians are concerned, they do not aspire to any political power at all. But if we are to remain voteless, I do think the Government ought to protect those who are voteless, and not merely in a haphazard way, but that protection ought to be a real force, and we look to you, sir, as our advocate and trustee, to give us the protection we are entitled to, and to let us feel that we have it. (Applause.)

MR. ALLY: I do not think it will be necessary for me, sir, to address you at length with regard to our mission. Mr. Gandhi has already submitted all the points and the facts. I am simply instructed by my community to place before you especially their position in the Transvaal. They feel—and feel keenly—that the Transvaal administration under the British Government are passing class legislation against them, whereas thousands of aliens of different races, such as Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, Russians, and Polish Jews, are entering the Transvaal without molestation and without any restriction. Our people remember the charter of 1857, as well as the message[1] that the King sent to the Delhi Durbar—to the people—assuring them of their liberties under the British flag; therefore they feel it very keenly that they are oppressed and degraded by the passing of this Ordinance.

I have spoken to you with regard to the aliens. Now the great question is that European feeling—that is, the colonists'—is against us. The colonists have never asked in any shape or in any way to degrade our people in the Transvaal. They have asked for protection against our trade competition, which is very strong against them, and all that they desire, sir, is not to see a great influx of Asiatics in[to] the Transvaal. We have from time to time said to the Government that we in the Transvaal are not desirous of seeing a great influx of Asiatics, and Mr. Duncan himself stated that the Imperial Government, with regard to the responsible government of the Transvaal, would deal with that question as well as with that of immigration. As we are not represented in the Legislative Council, the Imperial Government is our sole protector. Now, just to show you one point how this legislation and this Ordinance were thrust in. There was a clause which was unaffected by the new Ordinance, by which the descendants of the Dutch have been excluded from its operations, and yet no provision has been made for the Indian children born in South Africa, even when born in the Transvaal. Moreover, I personally pointed out to Mr. Duncan that it was unjust, if you were to exclude any Asiatics who were born in South Africa, not to exclude the children of Indians. Now, just to show you how unjust it is, even under the Boer Government the Mahommedan subjects of the Sultan of Turkey were also affected by this Ordinance, but not the Christian subjects of the Sultan of Turkey. Now you can see how unjust this Ordinance is to Indians.

I do not think it necessary for me to go to any length, but I would say to you simply this: that the present permits that we hold under the Peace Preservation Act are quite sufficient for identification, and that they can trace any Indians who are in the Transvaal unlawfully without any permission. Therefore there is no necessity for them to pass a new Ordinance, or that we should be subjected to this degradation, as we hold these permits at the present time. We consider that it is directed against us, and we consider it, sir, an indignity. This Ordinance, we consider, is bad in principle,

[1] King Edward's message of 1903

because it would be a precedent to self-governing Colonies. I would just draw your attention, sir, to the fact that, under the responsible government of the Cape Colony, where I was a resident for thirteen years myself, I had the Parliamentary franchise and the right of holding land and property, and also the right of mining, and there even up to the present moment we have got the same rights. Now, under the Crown Colony, legislation has been contemplated directly against Indians. Therefore my Mahommedan community have especially sent me here to put before you the position of the Indians in the Transvaal. We have a just right to claim from our Government the same privileges and the same rights as any other British rubjects, unless the British Government are prepared to consent to the millions of Indians who are outside India having no protection. If the British Government are prepared to say so, then our people would know better than to get out of India in order to get under the British flag in the Colonies. (Applause.)

MR. H. COX: I would like to make a very few remarks on this question... The Indian shopkeeper or the Indian trader is more efficient than the white shopkeeper, who, by the way, as Mr. Gandhi said, is generally, or often, not a British subject, but an alien from Southern Europe or Russia. The question, however, that the British Government now has to consider is whether to maintain a system of alien white shopkeepers as against British subjects. That is really the whole point: whether we are virtually to subsidize the alien shopkeeper in the Transvaal and to give him a preferential right to trade; and in connection with that arises the much larger question of the future race destiny of South Africa. From an examination of the statistics of population in South Africa, and especially of the growth of population, I am absolutely convinced that South Africa is not, and never can be, a white man's land. The blacks are increasing at an enormously greater rate than the whites. It is true that in South Africa the white man can live and breed; but that he cannot engage in labourer's work is admitted on all sides. So it has been suggested by several people that, because white men will not do manual work, therefore we ought to make special provision to allow them to do shopkeeping work. Now I think that is an intolerable position to take up. It is an injustice to the rest of the population as well as to the Indians who want to engage in this work. Indians are more patient, and succeed better with the Natives. Moreover, a great many of the white people in South Africa welcome these Indian traders, because they find they can get things more cheaply from them. An English lady told me that her husband objected to her dealing with Indian traders, but, nevertheless, she always dealt with them, because she found she got things cheaper.

... After all we have got to defend these Colonies. We pay for and provide the soldiers for the defence of the Transvaal. The position is therefore this: that when the Transvaal was a foreign country we claimed the right to interfere on behalf of our own subjects; now that it is our own Colony, defended by our own troops, we humbly withdraw and dare not oppose their will. If this is so, we may as well altogether abdicate our position as an Imperial race. ('Hear! Hear!')

Then it is, in fact, an alien majority, for not only are the white population mainly Boers, but the immigrant whites are largely aliens. Therefore if we assent to this—because I consider this, to a large extent, the turning of the ways—we as Englishmen and on behalf of England assent to this proposition that the larger number of the inhabitants of the British Empire are to be regarded as permanently in a lower category than the minority of the British Empire. That is a very serious proposition for any British Government, and especially a Liberal Government, to assent to. Therefore the particular point I have to submit to you, Mr. Morley—and Sir Lepel Griffin forgot to mention it—is this, that before the present Government sanctions any legislation

hostile to British Indians they will send to South Africa a commission to inquire into the whole question and to report to them.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: ...I may say, personally, that the prayer of the memorial falls very far short of my sense of what the justice of the case requires. I feel that in this matter we are face to face with a difficulty which will grow greater and greater unless we lay hold of some principle. I fear that too many of the speeches have been rather apologetic than challenging the bad principle itself...Now, I wish to call attention to one passage which puts our case very strongly with reference to the attitude we took up towards the Boers in the settlement at the time of the conquest of the Transvaal. I refer to Mr. Chamberlain's telegram in 1901 which will be found in *Colonial Paper 528,* page 5. Mr. Chamberlain then telegraphed that the legal position of Coloured people will be similar to that which they hold in the Cape Colony. ...I do not say for a moment that in the complicated relations of the Crown with its self-governing Colonies we could not dream of interfering with the political arrangements and power[s] of a Colony; but I do feel that, so long as Colonies claim the protection of the British flag and the support of the British Empire, we have a right to expect that they will grant civil rights, leaving the question of political rights to the discretion of the Colonies.

'Well' now, perhaps, you may say, 'how do I propose to enforce this in case of a conflict between the central Government and the Colonies?' I do not say that you can enforce it. These are the problems of intricate relationship with concurrent rights; and though theoretically the Parliament of this country is supreme, practically nobody dreams of this country's supremacy in face of action by the Colony. In the first place, I do not believe that you will come to that point with a Colony. But if we can tamper with principle year after year, we encourage a base spirit of race supremacy to assert itself in the Colonies, and you will find it more difficult to tackle it afterwards...I may point out that, if the worst came to the worst, no Colony could complain if exactly the same humiliating restrictions were put upon white colonists going to India as they propose to put upon Indians going to the Colony. If an Australian merchant, for instance, had to live in a particular district, and had to take out a police license, I think many of them would soon realize that the impediments they are putting on other British subjects were not to be borne. I think this is important...No, I think it is intolerable. I think, myself, that, invariably if we go away from principle, we very soon get involved in great difficulties. I do not say that you can quite act up to principle. I think the English Government cannot: but you should bear the principle in mind and get as near as you can to it.

I say, in conclusion, that I cannot quite agree with the satisfaction expressed by Sir Lepel Griffin with the assurance that we had from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sympathy is a very good thing but effective acts are much better.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE:...if by your influence, the Cabinet or His Majesty's Government were to be induced to veto this Ordinance, which the Delegates have come all this way to complain about, well and good. But if His Majesty's Government find that, between the prejudice subsisting on the part of so-called white men in the Colonies and the rights of the Indians, there is a gulf which they cannot bridge over by their own or your influence, then I beg to support the prayer that a commission may be appointed in order to investigate the whole question and put its conclusions before His Majesty's Government....I am instructed by the Delegates, and I have the authority almost of the whole of the British Indian community resident in the Transvaal and in Africa generally, to say that they will abide by the findings of such a commission. They feel that six, eight, or a dozen impartial English statesmen sitting round a table and inquiring into a deep grievance like this cannot possibly go wrong...

SIR H. COTTON: ...The people of India follow what is going on in South Africa most carefully, and they rely, sir, upon you—you who are the custodian of their liberties and their rights, their sole protector in fact in this country—to see that justice is done to them in whatever part of the globe they may settle...

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: I think, sir, that this will be sufficient. ...After all, it is a question of principle, and that should not be given up. Indeed, it has been asserted by this Government so strongly in the question of Chinese labour that I think, if the question were deliberately laid in its true facts before the present House of Commons, that they could, so far as consistency has any meaning, answer it only in one manner.

MR. MORLEY: ...There can be no doubt whatever, I take it—everybody of Indian experience with whom I speak on the subject agrees—that the effect upon public opinion in India is, and naturally is, and must be, rather serious. Those people who go to South Africa come back by and by and represent the indignities to which some of them and their kith and kin have been subjected. That in itself stirs up prejudice. Often the population in India—those who reflect—will ask themselves whether it is want of will or want of power in the British Government to which they submit that leaves them exposed to those disadvantages in a newly acquired possession of the British Crown. The irony of the situation of that newly acquired possession has been pointed out by more than one speaker, and I was very glad indeed that my friend, Lord Stanley, read Mr. Chamberlain's telegram of 1901, and that reference has been made to Lord Lansdowne's well-known speech at Sheffield in the first week or two of the war. Mr. Chamberlain—to his great honour, be it said—throughout the whole time that he was at the Colonial Office urged with all his force the injustice, the harshness, the indignity of proceedings of this kind...

...It is, I repeat, a great irony that one of the first acts to which the eye of the British Government is directed is an Ordinance which, in effect—say what we like about it—along with other practices and habits of mind, does throw a bar sinister upon many millions of British subjects. ('Hear! Hear!')

I am heartily glad, though a responsible Minister is seldom a man who desires an appeal to principle, that Lord Stanley has gone boldly on to that thorny and difficult ground. It is well that we should be reminded that the principles that he alluded to and enforced today have become a little old fashioned; but I share adherence to them entirely with him. ('Hear! Hear!') But now we are—at least I am—in a responsible position, and the question is not what we would desire to do if we had a blank sheet of paper before us; but, as Lord Stanley admitted, we are to keep our principle in mind, and come as near to it as we can in practical applications.

But, then, what is the position of the India Office? Remember that the department and the Minister, first and immediately, and in a sense finally, concerned is the Minister for the Colonies...I see at once, and I submit to you, gentlemen, a very serious difficulty in the way of a commission, and that is that we hope by May that responsible government is going to be conferred on the people of the Transvaal. It surely would be a very odd preliminary to putting the reins of government into their hands to send out a commission which, if it is to do anything at all, and, if it is to affect the mind of His Majesty's Government here, must force His Majesty's Government to tell the new organized authority that is to be brought into being, what they are or are not to do in this very thorny and difficult field of legislation. Well, I only submit that as my answer to what Mr. Gandhi and Sir M. M. Bhownaggree said. Somebody said, by the way, that a commission would be a solution of the question. Now, I have been a great many years in Parliament, and I wonder what commission ever solved any question. Therefore, I demur to that general proposition, and I demur to the notion

of a commission in the present circumstances because it might lead you into immediate collision with this new authority which you have called, or are about to call, into being.

No doubt the position of the Imperial Government towards a Colony such as the Transvaal is going to be, and such as Natal is, is a great paradox. There is no other word for it. But there it is. You have to accept our present system, miscalled an Imperial system. You have to accept that, and you have to recognize this plain fact—and you ought to recognize it—that we cannot dictate to these Colonies. What can we do, and what ought we to do? What I hope is that such gatherings as this Deputation to Lord Elgin and to myself, and perhaps to other Ministers and other persons, will promote this operation. We can plead and argue the case, and press the principles that Lord Stanley has outlined. That is what we can do—whether in the Colonial Conference next year, or in the form of despatches, to Lord Selborne, for instance. That is what we can do: we can bring to bear the weight of British opinion and British influence upon the responsible bodies in the Transvaal.

Sir Lepel Griffin noticed that I indicated a little astonishment when he said that I could fasten or unloose these bonds. There is not a single Viceroy now living who has not tried, and tried pretty hard, to get these arrangements, the new form of which you are complaining of today, modified. What Lord Lansdowne thought of them you have already heard. Lord Elgin told you when you saw him that he had sent any number of despatches to this Office—on the way to the Colonial Office, I presume—making the same protest. Lord Curzon, the last Viceroy, carried on a tremendous battle. ('Hear! Hear!') I was this morning turning over his speeches, trying to see what he had said or done, and he gives in one of the speeches—his seventh Budget Speech—an account of his attempted dealings with the Government of Natal—in the year 1903, I think. This is what he says. It is very short, so I venture to read it. 'We stipulated for the eventual abolition of a tax of £3 a head which had been imposed on such persons for leave to reside; we stipulated for the amendment of an Act placing traders, of however old a standing, under the power of local corporations, who had absolute authority to refuse licenses to trade; we stipulated for the removal of Indians from another Act, under which they were classed with barbarous races; and for the provision of a summary remedy for free Indians, that is to say, Indians who had served their indenture, and had become free Indians, who might be wrongfully arrested on the ground that they were coolies under indenture or prohibited immigrants'. That was Lord Curzon's position dealing with the Government of Natal in 1903. What did the Government of Natal say? 'In reply,' says Lord Curzon, 'we were given to understand that there was no prospect of obtaining the consent of the local legislature to these conditions, and the negotiations were dropped.' It would surely be unwise, and I do not think Sir Lepel Griffin would recommend me to put myself (if I had the authority) in a position of that sort, or that I should write to Lord Elgin a communication which would urge him to put himself into the same position with reference to the new Transvaal Government, when it comes into existence as Lord Curzon was placed in by the established Government of Natal. . . .

As I understand from Mr. Gandhi—and I was delighted to hear it, and perhaps a little surprised, but delighted—the feeling on the part of the white colonists towards the Indians who are now, and have been for some time, resident in the Transvaal is not bad, but rather good than otherwise.

MR. GANDHI : The feeling is bad enough, but it is restricted to the petty store-keepers. It is they who agitate, and they who inflame the popular prejudice.

MR. MORLEY: I understand that, but we must, after all, look at this thing fairly. It is not very unnatural that a small white store-keeper should be very happy if he could so far prevail upon the prejudices of the people as to induce those who are in authority to keep out his formidable competitors, because, of course, we know quite well—it is no secret—that it is not merely prejudice of colour; it is not a prejudice of racial inferiority, because that would be absurd when there are, as we know, Indians in the Transvaal, pursuing professions and so forth, who are not only not inferior but greatly superior in many of the elements that make a civilized being to many of those who are not excluded from the Transvaal. ('Hear! Hear!')...

...If a foreign power were to impose these disabilities upon fellow-subjects of ours, I think the Foreign Office would be set in motion to represent such a proceeding as an unfriendly act. ('Hear! Hear!') It is a disagreeable truth, but we ought to face these things: that there is no doubt we can more effectively remonstrate with foreign powers than we can in some circumstances with our own kinsfolk. ('Shame!') But this is carrying me into a very wide field indeed. Lord Stanley, I think, rather tempted me into these speculations. If there is any feeling in India, that, after all, is the only thing that I can do any good by endeavouring to convey. Whatever can be done by way of energetic expression of opinion, of energetic protest, when the time comes, against these harsh and humiliating indignities, you may feel perfectly sure, and they may feel perfectly sure, that this Office will not be at all slack in backing the Colonial Office in any representations that they may wish to make, or possibly even in going a little in front. ('Hear! Hear!') Nobody occupying my position could do anything less than promise you, which I do with the greatest sincerity, not only the sympathy of which somebody has spoken today, but as much support as I find myself able to give, now that I am in possession of the general views which you, gentlemen, have so ably laid before me. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: ... Mr. Morley, I beg on behalf of the deputation to express our best thanks for the very kind and sympathetic manner in which you have listened to us for so long, and for the answer which you have given to us.

The deputation then withdrew.

Journal of the East India Association, April 1907

240. LETTER TO "SOUTH AFRICA"

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 22, 1906

THE EDITOR
SOUTH AFRICA
[LONDON]

SIR,

You have laid the British Indian Deputation under deep obligation by your opening your columns for a discussion of the British Indian position in the Transvaal and, in the words of Lord Milner, it is such discussion alone which would bring us nearer to a proper solution. In your leaderette, however, you have done less than justice to the British Indian community by imputing to it a desire for the franchise and for

an Asiatic invasion of the Transvaal. May I state that the community has never desired any political power in the Transvaal or an invasion of it by British Indians, and it is for that reason that it has accepted legislation along the Cape or the Natal model, which restricts the immigration of British Indians (except those who enjoy a status) without insulting them. The community has also accepted the principle of the control of all new trade licences, subject to appeal to the Supreme Court, by local boards or municipalities.

The objection to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance is taken not because the Ordinance is restrictive of immigration, but because it is restrictive of the ordinary civil liberty of the British Indians who are today domiciled in the Transvaal. It is not the present Ordinance which would restrict Indian immigration; as you are aware, the Peace Preservation Ordinance has been misapplied for effecting that purpose.

You say that Indians cannot be treated better than natives of South Africa. Without entering into a discussion of the proposition, may I inform you that they are being treated worse than the Natives, in that, whereas Natives can become owners of landed property in any part of the Transvaal, Indians cannot own it at all.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

South Africa, 24-11-1906

241. LETTER TO T. MORISON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 22, 1906

DEAR MR. MORISON,

I now enclose herewith a cutting with marked passages, giving the utterances of Lord Selborne. One was before the war and the other only lately.

I also send you copy of Sir Muncherji's letter to Mr. Lyttelton, with the passages marked.

That we would be satisfied with legislation along the Cape lines is made, you will notice, quite clear in the Representation to Lord Elgin of which you have a copy and of which if you need I will send you more copies. I hope you have noticed the fundamental objection to the Asiatic Ordinance, namely, that it draws for[1] the first time a colour line and it means a departure from the Colonial tradition. If there was no hesitation last year in vetoing the Native Land Tenure Bill, it passes comprehension

[1] The original has "from".

why there should be any hesitation about vetoing this Ordinance which is infinitely worse than the Native Tenure Ordinance.

Yours truly,

[2] enclosure[s]

THEODORE MORISON, ESQ.
c/o THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION
3, VICTORIA STREET

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4628

242. LETTER TO MISS A. H. SMITH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 22, 1906

DEAR MISS SMITH,

I have had the telephone message from you but I had not [*sic*] been able to see to it only after 9.15 p.m. and as I considered it to be useless to telephone to you I am now writing.

I now enclose herewith a list of those who were present at the deputation. Mr. Morley has pledged the deputation to privacy. I, therefore, must not give you anything for publication. We were very well received. Mr. Morley was strong in some parts of his speech but I cannot say that the effect on the whole was encouraging. However, we have to wait and see.

Mr. Ally and I leave definitely on the 1st of next month.

Yours truly,

MISS A. H. SMITH
5, WINCHESTER ROAD
HAMPSTEAD

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4629

243. LETTER TO M. N. DOCTOR

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 22, 1906

DEAR MR. DOCTOR,

Will you please give me a call at 10 o'clock on Saturday.

Yours truly,

M. N. DOCTOR, ESQ.
102, WHARTON ROAD, W.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4630

244. LETTER TO MISS E. J. BECK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 22, 1906

DEAR MADAM,

I shall thank you to let me have the book of instructions for Indian youths coming to England for education as per advertisement in the magazine.

I am,
Yours faithfully,

MISS E. J. BECK
233, ALBION ROAD
STOKE NEWINGTON, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4631

245. DEPUTATION NOTES - III

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 23, 1906

This is our last week here. We had hoped to leave on November 24. But we have been obliged to stay on in order to complete the work regarding the Committee and do whatever is necessary after the interview with Mr. Morley. Now we have fixed the date of our departure for December 1.

MORE PROMISES OF HELP

During the current week, we met Lord Milner, Mr. Lyttelton, Lord Reay, Sir Raymond West and others. Everyone has shown much sympathy and offered to work for us. It is not possible to say what the outcome of all this will be.

INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

The deputation met Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, on Thursday at 12.20 p.m. Those present were Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Charles Schwann, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. A. H. Scott, Mr. Lynch, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. D. Rees, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Arathoon, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. T. J. Bennett, Mr. Theodore Morison and Mr. Ritch. Mr. Ameer Ali could not attend owing to illness.

Sir Lepel Griffin, Lord Stanley, Mr. Cox and Sir Muncherji spoke at length. Lord Stanley went so far as to demand sweet deeds in place of sweet words. Messrs Ally and Gandhi[1] said whatever was required on the occasion.

Morley's Speech

Mr. Morley gave a long reply in which he said:

I am glad to have met the deputation. For I desire to be familiarized fully with the condition of the country for whose administration I am responsible to Parliament. Moreover, the problem placed before me today has a very close bearing on the good government of India. That the feelings of the people of India are excited on account of the disabilities imposed upon Indians in South Africa is a serious matter. Indians returning to their native land from South Africa carry with them the story of the indignities to which they are subjected, and the result is that people are greatly agitated. People in India must be thinking that the Government lack either the will or the power to prevent oppression in South Africa. In either case, it is harmful. I believe the resistance offered by Mr. Chamberlain in 1901, in the interests of Indians, deserves praise. The first thing that has been brought to the notice of the new Government is that a bar sinister has been placed upon Indians in some Colonies. Men in authority do not like to be told about moral principles. But I am glad that Lord Stanley has spoken of moral principles. The views expressed by Lord Stanley may be held by some to be old fashioned, but I for one share them entirely. Unfortunately, we have not a white sheet of paper to write upon. We must face the facts as they are and then act, as far as possible, in accordance with moral principle. Now, let us see what the India Office can do. It has been recognized by Sir Lepel Griffin that the minister primarily concerned is Lord Elgin. Sir Muncherji asks me to demand that a commission be appointed. But a serious difficulty in the way is that in May next the Transvaal will be under responsible government. Now it would be a serious matter if a conflict arises between the [policies of the] new government and the commission's recommendations. I do not believe that such a commission will solve the question. I have been in Parliament for many years but I do not remember any commission which has solved any question. And the question regarding the Transvaal is not likely to be solved by the appointment of a commission. It will quite probably mean a collision with the newly organized government at the very outset

[1] In his Gujarati despatches Gandhiji often refers to himself both in the first person and by name.

of its career. The plain fact is that we cannot dictate to the self-governing colonies. We can plead, we can argue, we can press for the application of our principles. Whether at the Colonial Conference [next year] or in his despatches, Lord Elgin will, doubtless, advance strong arguments and make recommendations. Viceroy after Viceroy has written on the matter. Lord Curzon had written very strongly. He had made many recommendations about Natal but Natal paid no heed to his words. It remains to be seen whether the Transvaal will listen to the requests of Lord Elgin. I am glad to know that there are many whites in the Transvaal who are not against Indians. I can well understand the small white shopkeepers opposing them. I can even understand Indians [already in the country] opposing [further immigration of Indians].[1] But what I cannot understand is the prejudice felt by the whites against mere dark skin. I know that there are in the Transvaal many [Indians] who are superior to the whites. How can these then be tyrannized over? Just as Lord Lansdowne's feelings were hurt by the treatment meted out to Indians, my blood too boils at their sufferings. But it must be remembered that we cannot remonstrate as effectively with the Colonies as we can with foreign powers. But I have been tempted into a digression by the remarks of Lord Stanley. All I can now say is that it is my duty to do all I can. The India Office will not fail to make strong representations as frequently as may be necessary. I can definitely assure you that I shall not be slack in supporting the Colonial Office and, possibly, going ahead of it.

More Interviews and Sympathy

Though Mr. Morley has made such a strong speech, I do not yet expect that the Ordinance will be refused assent. Strong despatches seem to have been received from the Transvaal. I feel also that the rulers here think in their heart of hearts that we are an inferior race and there is no harm in piling up endless burdens on us. Today we saw Mr. Lyttelton and also Sir Raymond West[2], an ex-Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. They appeared to be of much the same view. They felt much sympathy, but they also indicated that we would get no redress until we acquired strength like the whites. They are afraid of the colonies, not because they are white, but because they are powerful. If this is a true reading of the situation, we should realize that our salvation lies in our own hands.

[1] This statement is not found in the official minutes of Morley's speech; *vide* pp. 215-7.

[2] (1832-1912); Jurist, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; an advocate of agricultural credit in India

OUR DELIVERANCE

While we are on this subject, the case of Miss Milan deserves to be noted. Miss Milan, a suffragette, began making a speech in front of the Houses of Parliament. The police attempted to stop her, but she persisted. She was then arrested and prosecuted. The Magistrate sentenced her to pay a fine of 10s or imprisonment for seven days. The brave lady preferred to go to gaol.

This will be our last letter from England. Hence I would appeal to all and say that, just as Miss Milan preferred going to gaol, so must every Transvaal Indian, taking it that the Ordinance will receive Royal assent. There is no doubt that the Fourth Resolution contains the key to the Indians' deliverance. If the Resolution is acted upon, there should be no anxiety, whether or not the Ordinance receives the assent.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 22-12-1906

246. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MORLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 23, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
THE INDIA OFFICE
DOWNING STREET, W.

DEAR SIR,

I have seen in *The Times* what purports to be a report of the proceedings of the deputation that waited on Mr. John Morley yesterday. Several pressmen came to me yesterday and I told them that the proceedings were private and such intimation had appeared in *The Daily Mail* and *The Tribune*. I do not know how *The Times* has been able to get the report. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether Mr. Morley proposes to enquire as to how *The Times* has been able to publish the report.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4633

247. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 23, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Will you please enquire whether Mr. Ally's parcel has been sent? Miss Rosenburg has not brought it at all. Will you also kindly let me have the balance of the account against Mr. Ally?

My teeth are more shaky than when you saw them and yet I am afraid that I will not be able to undergo the operation at the hospital either for the teeth or the nose.

Yours truly,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4634

248. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 24, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD ELGIN
HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
DOWNING STREET

DEAR SIR,

I have seen Mr. Churchill's reply on the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance in answer to Sir Henry Cotton's question[2]. In my humble opinion the answer is based on a misapprehension of the real state of affairs.

[1] This letter along with Sir Henry Cotton's question and Churchill's answer (footnote 2 below) was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 22-12-1906.

[2] On November 22, 1906, Sir Henry Cotton had asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons whether his attention had been drawn to Clauses 5, 8 and 9 of the Second Schedule of the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance of 1906, under which the residence of British Indians, other than domestic servants, was prohibited within that area affected by the Ordinance; and whether, looking to the fact that the Ordinance did not come into effect until it had been assented to by the Crown, and that, for several years past, both under the Boer Government and at present, British Indians had been allowed to occupy land within this area under grants given by the

The act of granting Vrededorp to the poor Dutch burghers for personal occupation was accompanied by occupation of Vrededorp by persons other than the grantees irrespective of race or colour. As for instance, many non-Dutch white people occupied Stands in Vrededorp from the original grantees with the knowledge of the Boer Government.

The Ordinance does *not* perpetuate the legal conditions which were in existence before annexation, because the legal condition before annexation was that the grantees had only squatters' rights. The Ordinance now gives to them a permanent tenure with power to them to transfer their leases to whomsoever they choose save and except Asiatics so that the legal condition of personal occupation is now being changed into that of transferable leases.

I venture to protest against the statement that Indians acquired rights in Vrededorp in defiance of legal conditions. They acquired rights in Vrededorp in the same manner that those who were not poor burghers did. Nor is it true that Indians have erected shanties in Vrededorp. In my humble opinion, class considered, what are described as shanties are superior to many of the buildings in Vrededorp.

If the doctrine of the desirability of keeping the white and the Coloured quarters apart is sound, I fear that there will be an end to British Indian residence in the Transvaal with any degree of self-respect. The logical conclusion of such a doctrine will be a system of Locations which can only result in ruination to hundreds of law-abiding and respectable Indians.

One is appalled by the inaccurate information that is placed before His Lordship in connection with matters Indian and it is extremely painful that legislation that is otherwise without the slightest justification is justified on statements that are inaccurate or misleading.

In venturing to offer the above remarks, no reflection is cast on Lord Selborne but it is respectfully submitted that Lord Selborne

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burghers of Vrededorp, and were still residing in this area, and had erected substantial structures thereon, the Secretary of State would advise His Majesty to disallow the Ordinance.

MR. CHURCHILL: My attention has been drawn to the provision referred to. This land was originally granted to poor burghers—that is, to white men only, and on condition of personal occupation. The Ordinance, therefore, merely perpetuates the legal conditions which were in existence before annexation, and in defiance of which certain Indians have, I understand, acquired some Stands and erected tin shanties. I may add that it is very desirable to keep the white and Coloured quarters apart, as the practice of allowing European, Asiatic, and Native families to live side by side in mixed community is fraught with many evils, and is, in Lord Selborne's opinion, injurious to the social well-being of all three. The whole question is, however, still under consideration.

himself receives misleading information, as is painfully apparent to those who are on the spot and know the inner working of the administration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4635

249. LETTER TO C. HAY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 24, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith note of introduction from Sir Muncherji which speaks for itself.

As my co-Delegate, Mr. Ally, and myself have to leave for the Transvaal next Saturday, instead of requesting an appointment, I am taking the liberty of sending the enclosure to you and to say that Mr. Ally and myself will venture to send in our cards at the House of Commons at 2.45 on Monday next on the chance of being able to meet you. If, however, we are unsuccessful in seeing you, may I request a favourable reply as to your sympathy for our mission and your consenting to join the South Africa British Indian Committee?

As you may be aware, we are appealing to all parties and have received support too from them.

I enclose herewith a cutting from *The Times* giving a report of the interview with Mr. Morley which will further explain the position of British Indians in the Transvaal.

I am addressing similar letters to Sir Edward Sassoon, Major Sir Evans Gordon and Sir William Bull.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

Enclosure

THE HON. CLAUDE HAY, M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
WESTMINSTER

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4637

250. LETTER TO LORD REAY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 24, 1906

MY LORD,

Mr. Ally and I are extremely obliged to Your Lordship for having granted us the very sympathetic interview yesterday.

I now enclose herewith copy of the draft constitution of the South Africa British Indian Committee. Those whose names are given in the draft have consented to join the Committee. We are approaching the gentleman mentioned by Your Lordship yesterday.

If you could accept the Presidentship of the Committee, you will place the Indian community in South Africa under deep obligation to Your Lordship.

The draft constitution is being printed and will be circulated among the members, who have already joined, for their approval. Will you kindly therefore be pleased to let me know whether I may include Your Lordship's name as President of the Committee?

The complimentary breakfast, which Your Lordship has kindly consented to attend, will take place at the Hotel Cecil on Thursday next at 10.30 a.m.

A short conference will be held immediately after the breakfast among the members of the Committee for a mutual interchange of suggestions and for its inauguration.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD REAY
6, GREAT STANHOPE STREET
PARK LANE, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4638

[ENCLOSURE][1]

PROVISIONAL DRAFT

SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

(November 1906)

PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENT

Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Ameer Ali, Esq., C.I.E.; T. J. Bennett, Esq., C.I.E.; Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.; Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Harold Cox, Esq., M.P.; Sir William Markby, K.C.S.I.; Theodore Morison, Esq.; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.; J. H. L. Polak, Esq., J.P.; J. D. Rees, Esq., M.P.; L. W. Ritch, Esq.; J. M. Robertson, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Rutherford, M.P.; Sir Charles Schwann, Bart., M.P.; A. H. Scott, Esq., M.P.; Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.; Sir Raymond West, K.C.S.I.

SUB-COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN: Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E.

MEMBERS: Ameer Ali, Esq., C.I.E.; Harold Cox, Esq., M.P.; J.H.L.Polak, Esq.,J.P.; J.D.Rees, Esq., M.P.; J.M.Robertson, Esq., M.P.; A. H. Scott, Esq., M.P.

SECRETARY: L. W. Ritch, Esq.

HONORARY SOLICITORS

BANKERS: The Natal Bank Limited.

OFFICES: 28, Queen Anne's Chambers, The Broadway, Westminster, W.

THE CONSTITUTION

NAME

The Committee shall be called SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE.

OBJECT

The Committee is established for the purpose of

(a) concentrating and giving continuity to the efforts to secure fair and just treatment to British Indian settlers in South Africa of those friends who have heretofore exerted themselves to that end in Parliament and in other ways;

(b) and of helping the Imperial Government to arrive at a proper solution of this difficult problem.

[1] Copies of the draft constitution were later sent to the others mentioned in the list.

RULES

1. There shall be no subscription for membership of the Committee and members shall not be personally liable for any expenses incurred in the name of the Committee.

2. The Committee shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents and members.

3. There shall be a sub-Committee of not more than six members besides Chairman and Secretary, who shall be ex-officio members of such Committee.

4. The sub-Committee shall meet every week on . . . at . . .

5. . . . . members shall form a quorum.

6. As to any matters touching which no provision is made in the foregoing rules, the ordinary rules of meetings shall apply.

7. The above rules are subject to change at the discretion of the sub-Committee.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft: S. N. 4576 and 4576/2

251. LETTER TO DR. J. OLDFIELD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 24, 1906

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

Many thanks for your note. If you can perform the operation at the Hotel without tying me down to the room for the rest of the day or if you can perform it any time after 8 o'clock in the evening so that you would free me for the next day's work, I should have it and feel greatly relieved. On Tuesday do you mind coming to the hotel at 5 o'clock or even at 4.45? I have an appointment[1] with *The Daily News* after 4 o'clock. As soon as I am free from *The Daily News* office I should come back to the Hotel. You may come up to room No. 256 and await my arrival. In any case should I be later than 5 o'clock and if you can have tea and then perform the operation or do whatever you like with me, I will endeavour to keep the whole of the evening free. Whatever you do please let me know beforehand.

I enclose herewith cheque for £1.1.0 regarding Mr. Simmonds.

Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

DR. J. OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
BROMLEY
KENT

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4639

[1] To meet Mr. Gardiner, the Editor; *vide* "Deputation Notes-IV", p. 258.

252. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MORLEY*

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 24, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
DOWNING STREET

SIR,

We shall be obliged if you will kindly bring the following to Mr. Morley's notice.

From what Mr. Morley stated yesterday there seems to be an impression that the Right Hon'ble gentleman believes that the Indian "petition" from the Transvaal is in approval of the Ordinance, which is not the case as will appear from the detailed reply[1] the Delegates have submitted to Lord Elgin. We now enclose herewith copy thereof.

With reference to the Royal Commission, what the Delegates have requested is a commission or rather a committee—it may be of local, but independent and impartial men, such as the judges of the Supreme Court or the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg—to enquire into the charges made against the Indian community and which have been used as reasons for passing the Ordinance. In our humble opinion, such a committee can give its report within a month from its formation. The Delegates respectfully submit that either the veto should now be exercised, as in the case of the Native Land Tenure Ordinance, or the Royal sanction should be suspended, pending result of the investigations by the committee or the commission described above.

British Indians in the Transvaal ask for full protection for the resident Indian population and that, in our humble opinion, should be granted to them, irrespective of the Colonial sentiment.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servants,

[Enclosure]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4640

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 196-202.

253. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM MARKBY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I are extremely obliged to you for your having consented to join the South Africa British Indian Committee.

Under separate covers, the draft constitution and a breakfast invitation card are being sent to you. If you can possibly take the trouble of coming, I need hardly say that we shall be greatly obliged. Any suggestions on the constitution will be valued.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR WILLIAM MARKBY
HEADINGTON HILL
OXFORD

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4641

254. LETTER TO T. MORISON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 26, 1906

DEAR MR. MORISON,

I hope that you will be able to spare the time for the breakfast on Thursday in respect of which an invitation has been sent to you.

I have seen the article in *The Outlook*. The whole of it is based on wrong premises and a misunderstanding of the true situation. I do not know whether you have also felt it like that. If I have the time, I may send a reply.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

THEODORE MORISON, ESQ.
ASHLEIGH
WEYBRIDGE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4642

255. LETTER TO SIR EVANS GORDON[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I are greatly obliged to you for your letter of the 26th instant. Under separate cover we have sent you a breakfast invitation card as also a draft constitution of the Committee. We trust that you will be able to spare the time for attending the breakfast.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

MAJOR SIR W. EVANS GORDON[2]
4, CHELSEA EMBANKMENT, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4643

256. LETTER TO SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 23rd instant.

I venture to send you herewith a breakfast invitation card as also the draft constitution of the South Africa British Indian Committee. If you can join the Committee, your patronage will be valued.

It was an agreeable surprise to me that you were connected with *The Englishman* of Calcutta. I may state that the late Mr. Saunders rendered the most valuable assistance to me when I was in Calcutta in 1896 and 1901 in connection with British Indians in South Africa; indeed, he even gave me notes of introduction to Sir Charles Turner and others and was largely instrumental in evoking from Lord Curzon a most spirited letter of sympathy regarding the status of British Indians in South Africa.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

[Enclosure]

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE
199, TEMPLE CHAMBERS
TEMPLE AVENUE, E.C.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4644

[1] An identical letter was sent to Sir Edward Sassoon, 25, Park Lane.

[2] (1857-1914); Indian Staff Corps, 1876-97; author of *The Alien Immigrant.*

257. CIRCULAR LETTER[1]

HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON, W.C.,
November 26, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Ally and I have taken the liberty of sending you today an invitation card for breakfast on Thursday next at 10.30 at Hotel Cecil as a small token of the gratitude of the Indian community, whom we have the honour to represent, for your valuable support and sympathy. I trust that you will be able to accept the invitation. I am aware that the notice given is very short but as it is imperatively necessary for the Delegates to leave for South Africa next Saturday, we could not give a longer notice.

I beg to enclose herewith, for your suggestions, the draft constitution of the South Africa British Indian Committee which you have kindly joined. After the breakfast is over, it has been suggested that a brief conference should take place in order to consider any suggestions that may be made in connection with the draft.

As the Committee has been formed in obedience to instructions received from South Africa, the Delegates have taken the liberty of approaching Sir Muncherji for acceptance of the Chairmanship of the sub-Committee. We have done so because we feel that, among the friends of the cause in London, no one has studied the Indian question in South Africa so well as Sir Muncherji, he having actively interested himself in the cause for the last 12 years and having made a speciality of this question. Sir Muncherji has very kindly consented to accept the office if it also meets with the approval of the other members of the sub-Committee.

Lord Reay has been approached with a view to the acceptance of the Presidentship of the Committee and if it is at all possible for His Lordship to accept the office, he will do so.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure

From a photostat of the signed typewritten office copy: S. N. 4654

[1] This was sent to the members of the South Africa British Indian Committee.

258. SPEECH AT EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

At a meeting[1] of the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London, L. W. Ritch read a paper entitled "The Burden of the British Indians in South Africa". Gandhiji opened the discussion that followed.

November 26, 1906

...Mr. Gandhi said that after what had been said by the lecturer it was unnecessary to say anything further with reference to the object of the mission with which he had been entrusted, but it would be ungrateful on his part if he did not take the opportunity of expressing his deep gratitude to the East India Association and its secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, for the advocacy which the Indian cause in South Africa had received. There was one thing which all should bear in mind, namely, that whatever difficulties they were undergoing in South Africa were being undergone in the name of the English people [*sic*], more particularly in the Transvaal. The Ordinance which had brought them to England had been introduced in the name of the King.

For the first time in Colonial history, a precedent had been set by a Crown Colony of legislation which branded a class of people simply because they wore a coloured skin. Was India to be retained, or was India to be lost simply because Colonial sentiment had to be consulted? What was the proportion of the white population to the Indian?

Mr. Ritch had said, the Asiatics in the Transvaal were but a drop in the ocean —13,000 as against 285,000 white men. They were simply struggling for peace, for contentment and self-respect in that Colony. Nearly all of them entered the Colony before the war. Today they were merely asking for the civil rights which ought to be granted to everybody who was a subject under the British Crown, and yet under the Ordinance they were to be treated differently to other British subjects. Was that kind of legislation to be sanctioned in the name of the British nation? (Applause.)...

The Journal of the East India Association, January 1907

259. LETTER TO MISS E. J. BECK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

DEAR MADAM,

I shall be obliged if you will kindly inform me whether you know anything suitable for a young Indian 18 years of age who requires school education as distinguished from college education and parental supervision. In my opinion, he has in him the making of an exceedingly

[1] For a report, *vide* "Ritch's Speech at East India Association", pp. 255-7.

fine, strong and lovable character. What I want is a place where he can receive education enabling him to pass the Matriculation examination of London University. His means are limited. He is not in a position to spend more than £8 per month including everything.

I am,
Yours truly,

MISS E. J. BECK
233, ALBION ROAD
STOKE NEWINGTON, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4645

260. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

DEAR SIR GEORGE,

I thank you for your long letter. I now enclose herewith copy of same. I thank you too for accepting the invitation. I know, the hour selected for the breakfast is very bad. Unfortunately I did not know the time [of] the G. O. M.'s departure[1] at the time the cards were sent. It is my misfortune that I shall be unable to pay my respects to him at the station.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD
119, THE AVENUE
WEST EALING

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4646

[1] Dadabhai Naoroji was to leave for India on the morning of Thursday, November 29, to preside over the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress.

261. LETTER TO LORD HARRIS[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

MY LORD,

Mr. Ally and I have arrived, as perhaps Your Lordship is aware, as a Deputation on behalf of the British Indian community in the Transvaal.

We have waited on Lord Elgin and Mr. Morley who have given sympathetic answers with reference to our mission but we also feel that any representations that they may make in our behalf require to be considerably strengthened. Moreover, the support that we have received from all parties has been exceptionally warm. We are most anxious to make as much use as possible of it in our future struggle. We have further been instructed by the British Indians in South Africa to form a committee, so that the work now being done may be continued.

We enclose herewith copy of the constitution.

We have approached the Right Hon'ble Lord Reay with a view to his acceptance of the Presidentship of the Committee and we believe that, if you could see your way to lend the weight of your influence to the Committee by accepting a Vice-Presidentship, he will accept the Presidentship and Your Lordship will lay the Indian community in South Africa under deep obligation to you.

We beg to enclose herewith an invitation card to a complimentary breakfast we are giving on Thursday next at 10.30 a.m. If Your Lordship could honour the occasion by your presence at the breakfast, we would feel deeply grateful. Lord Reay has kindly consented to come a little after the breakfast to attend a short conference that will take place thereafter to discuss the constitution of the Committee.

We remain,
Your Lordship's humble and obedient servants,

[Enclosure]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4647

[1] Though the letter does not mention the addressee, a reference in the following item makes it clear that it was sent to Lord Harris. The noting on the office copy shows that it was also sent to Lord Sandhurst, Sir James Fergusson and Lord Wenlock.

262. LETTER TO SIR MUNCHERJI BHOWNAGGREE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

DEAR SIR MUNCHERJI,

I am obliged for your letter of today's date. I have written to Lord Harris and the three other gentlemen in accordance with the enclosed copy.[1] The circular letter[2], of which I sent you a copy, had already gone by the time of the arrival of your letter.

Mr. Brown has since written saying that perhaps it will be better not to send invitations to *The Times* or any other paper.

I will feel very much obliged if you will kindly come on Thursday at 10.30. I do not think I need trouble you tomorrow. Mr. Winston Churchill has given us an appointment for tomorrow.

You will perhaps be going to the Bank tomorrow to give your signature as President of the sub-Committee and one of the signatories to the cheques and if at that time it is not too much trouble, you will perhaps drop in at the Hotel.

We had a very satisfactory interview with the Editor of *The Daily News*.

I have not told you all about Mr. Ritch's capabilities. He has handled many a meeting and has been secretary of more than one organization. He was twenty years ago perhaps what people may call a rabid Socialist. His has been a most chequered career. Today, I do not own a friend who knows me more than he does. He is one of those men who believe in dying for a cause that he [*sic*] holds dear.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

[Enclosure]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4648

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] *Vide* p. 233.

263. LETTER TO B. HOLLAND

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

BERNARD HOLLAND, ESQ.
THE COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET

DEAR SIR,

The Delegates will leave for South Africa on Saturday. I shall be obliged if you will kindly, before that time, return the original letter[1] given by Dr. Godfrey to Mr. Ally.

I should also feel obliged if you could let us have a copy of the "petition" from Dr. Godfrey and another, that is, if Lord Elgin has authorized the giving of a copy to us.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4649

264. CERTIFICATE TO MISS E. LAWSON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

We have much pleasure in certifying that Miss Edith Lawson has done secretarial work for the British Indian Deputation from the Transvaal to the Imperial authorities.

During the time, we found her a highly intelligent young lady, very obliging, punctual and energetic. What struck us most, however, was her capacity to identify herself with her work and we believe that she is capable of occupying a position of trust.

THE DELEGATES

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4650

[1] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 196-202.

265. LETTER TO MISS A. H. SMITH

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

DEAR MISS SMITH,

I have your kind note. It is impossible for me to come up to your place tonight, nor can Mr. Godfrey do so. We have not a moment to spare. We are having a breakfast meeting tomorrow to thank those who have assisted us. I am not inviting you because you would have been the only lady present.

I send you a copy of the constitution of the Committee and after my departure may I ask you to see Mr. Ritch at 28, Queen Anne's Chambers, The Broadway, Westminster, and get full information about the breakfast meeting.

I enclose herewith cheque for £1.1.0 as promised by me for the December contribution. You can post it on Saturday, or let me have it.

I am,
Yours truly,

2 enclosures

MISS A. H. SMITH
5, WINCHESTER ROAD
HAMPSTEAD

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4651

266. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO CHURCHILL

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL

DEAR SIR,

In accordance with the desire expressed by Mr. Winston Churchill, we beg to enclose herewith three statements[1], on single sheets of paper, showing the view of the British Indian community, first, on the Asiatic

[1] Only one of the three enclosures, viz., "Objections to the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance", is available and reproduced here.

Law Amendment Ordinance, secondly, on the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance, and thirdly, on the general question.

We remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

3 enclosures

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4653

[ENCLOSURE]

OBJECTIONS TO THE VREDEDORP STANDS ORDINANCE

1. The Ordinance if sanctioned will be a precedent for the inclusion of class-disqualifying clauses in leases in other townships in Johannesburg or the Transvaal and would therefore go beyond the Law 3 of 1885 in restricting British Indian rights.

2. British Indians with the knowledge of the Boer Government occupied and built upon Stands in Vrededorp just as many other Europeans did who were not the original burghers who received, from the late President Kruger, squatters' rights on the Stands.

3. Vrededorp is contiguous to the Malay Location, which is inhabited by a very large number of British Indians.

4. The Ordinance does not perpetuate the legal condition that was in existence before the war but it gives permanent rights to the original burghers with the power to sublet. Under this power, Europeans who were not burghers would be able to retain the rights granted to them by the burghers whereas British Indians will be dispossessed without the slightest justification.

5. Premises built by British Indians are not shanties but substantial structures as good as most other buildings.

6. If the Ordinance is sanctioned, it will be the first instance of a recognition by an Imperial Government of the right of a municipality to curtail the residential rights of British Indians in any part of the Transvaal which, under a Supreme Court judgment, British Indians are entitled to. It will indirectly create a system of Locations which otherwise the Imperial Government, it is presumed, would never sanction.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4636

267. LETTER TO BRITISH COMMITTEE OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 27, 1906

THE SECRETARY
BRITISH COMMITTEE [OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS]
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS
WESTMINSTER

DEAR MR. HALL,

With reference to the balance of the handbook fund lying at your disposal, will you kindly transfer it to the General Fund of the Committee and take it as a donation from the British Indian Association.

I am,
Yours truly,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4652

268. LETTER TO T. J. BENNETT[1]

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 28, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I hope you have received the invitation card which the Delegates have ventured to send to you for the breakfast tomorrow morning at 10.30 at the Hotel Cecil. I venture to trust that you will be good enough to honour the Delegates by your presence.

I am,
Yours truly,

T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.
HARWARTON HOUSE
SPELDHURST
TUNBRIDGE WELLS

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4655

[1] A similar letter was sent to J. M. Robertson, M.P.

269. LETTER TO F. H. BROWN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 28, 1906

DEAR MR. BROWN,

I am much obliged to you for your letter. I enclose herewith draft constitution of the committee. From it you will see that Mr. Ameer Ali's active support has been retained.

An invitation has been sent to him and I have just received his letter accepting same.

I am,
Yours truly,

Enclosure

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.
"DILKUSHA"
WESTBOURNE ROAD
FOREST HILL, S.E.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4656

270. LETTER TO A. H. GOOL

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 28, 1906

DEAR MR. GOOL,

I hope you have received the invitation card. Be sure and come at 10.30 tomorrow and find your way to the banqueting hall.

I am,
Yours truly,

A. H. GOOL, ESQ.
27, PECKHAM ROAD, S.E.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4657

271. LETTER TO LORD STANLEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 28, 1906

MY LORD,

The Delegates have not received your reply to the invitation card they have ventured to send to Your Lordship for breakfast at 10.30 tomorrow. The Delegates venture to hope that Your Lordship will honour them by your presence.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THE RT. HON. LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY
18, MANSFIELD STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4658/a

272. LETTER TO SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 28, 1906

DEAR SIR LEPEL,

I have not yet received your reply to the invitation the Delegates have ventured to send to you to the breakfast that comes off tomorrow morning at 10.30 at the Hotel Cecil and a conference after. I do trust that you will honour us by your presence and your counsel.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, K.C.S.I.
4, CADOGAN GARDENS
SLOANE SQUARE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4658/b

273. SPEECH AT LONDON FAREWELL[1]

The following is a report of Gandhiji's speech at the farewell breakfast given at Hotel Cecil by the Delegates from the Transvaal to friends and sympathizers:

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,
November 29, 1906]

Sir Muncherji, My Lord and Gentlemen, before I begin to express our thanks for your attendance here and to those gentlemen who have not been able to attend this morning, I shall take the opportunity of reading some of the letters[2] which have been received in connection with the invitations.

The task before my colleagues and myself today is an exceedingly pleasant one—to thank you all who have honoured us by your presence, and also to thank those gentlemen who could not be with us this morning. Mr. Ally and I, when we came to the end of our mission, thought that the least we could do, as representing the 13,000 British Indians in the Transvaal, was to adopt this tangible method of showing our gratitude. The support we have received throughout our stay in England has been very encouraging. We have received it from all parties ever since the beginning of our campaign against the deprivation of our civil rights as citizens in this mighty Empire. We have appealed to all parties, and all parties have invariably extended their help to us. For this we cannot be too grateful, and I think it but right especially to mention the name of the late Sir William Wilson Hunter. As far back as 1893, Sir W. W. Hunter received one of the circulars sent out to him from South Africa, and he it was, I think, who first understood the national importance of this question, and ever since that time down to the date of his death, he was always busy doing something or other to assist the cause of British Indians in South Africa. In the columns of *The Times* and otherwise, he always advocated our cause, and I

[1] This function was specially reported for *Indian Opinion*. Among those present were Lord Reay, Sir William Bull, M.P., A. H. Scott, M.P., Sir George Birdwood, Sir Frederick Fryer, Sir Raymond West, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Ameer Ali, Theodore Morison, Dr. Josiah Oldfield, Dr. E. P. S. Counsel, C. W. Arathoon, J. H. L. Polak, L. W. Ritch, G. V. Godfrey, J. W. Godfrey, A. Cartwright, F. H. Brown, H. E. A. Cotton, A. H. Gool, T. Ruthnum Pather, S. M. Manga and J. M. Robertson.

[2] Gandhiji read out letters of good wishes from Sir William Markby, Sir Roper Lethbridge and Sir Charles Schwann. He also mentioned similar latters from Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, T. J. Bennett, Harold Cox and others.

had a letter from Lady Hunter saying that, even at the time of his death, he had a long contribution in preparation in connection with this matter. In 1896, when I was in Calcutta, the late Mr. Saunders also came to the assistance of our cause, as also did *The Times of India*, which paper has always advocated the cause of the British Indians in South Africa. Coming nearer, the East India Association has helped us, and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has given us valuable assistance. It is a matter of regret to both Mr. Ally and myself that we have had to issue this invitation just at the time the "Grand Old Man" of India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, is leaving this country for the forthcoming session of the Congress. To him also we owe a debt of gratitude. As I have said, we have appealed to all parties in the House of Commons, and all have helped us. I must not fail to mention especially the name of Mr. Scott, who has helped us most sympathetically and most energetically in connection with our grievances, and now I come to the name of Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree. For the last 12 years, he has persistently and with unflagging zeal been advocating the cause of British Indians in South Africa. All have helped, but Sir Mancherji has made this cause his own. Sir Mancherji has worked as if he were actuated by the same strong convictions and feelings as we ourselves. He has felt as no other man has the national importance of the issues involved. In the House of Commons, outside the House, in his correspondence, he has always helped and counselled us as to how we were to go to work, and words cannot express our gratitude to him for all he has done for us in South Africa. The difficulties in our path have, perhaps, whether this Ordinance be passed or not, only just commenced. We, therefore, hope that the support, which all our friends here have hitherto afforded us, will be maintained, because, even if the Ordinance is disallowed—as there is some hope it will be—there is still a great deal to be done in regard to the general question. There is again the Vrededorp Ordinance. There is, too, the Natal Municipal Corporations Bill. Whatever is done in the Transvaal is likely to be done by the other Colonies. Ours has been a policy of the strictest moderation. We have always claimed that we have been able to enter into the feelings of our opponents (if one may use that term) in South Africa, and although we have examined the whole question from their standpoint and have always endeavoured to convince those who are prejudiced against us of our desire to be moderate, we have still to ask you to extend your support to us in our struggle, and it is for this reason that we have been authorized by the British Indians in South Africa to organize and inaugurate such a committee as will always watch over our interests. The work that has been so well and ably performed here by our supporters will have been frittered away if it be not now concentrated and continued by means of such an organization as this Committee.

As most of you gentlemen have received copies of the circular[1], I will only recapitulate the objects of the Committee. You will notice that it is merely a provisional draft. These are the ideas as they strike us, and we hope that you will consider them, and help us by your counsels. All whose names are printed on the draft have kindly consented to become members of the Committee, and it now only remains for me to ask you kindly to consider the draft constitution, and to formally inaugurate it, if you think that the step we have ventured to take is acceptable to you. I cannot better illustrate the gravity of the position in which we are placed in the Transvaal than by pointing to the young British Indians who are here today. They are more your hosts than guests. They are Indian students who belong to South Africa, that is to say, South Africa is more their home than India itself. They are studying here, but I have no doubt they are looking forward to their return to South Africa with considerable anxiety and apprehension, because they will have to share the same fate as the thirteen thousand British Indians in the Transvaal, and in fact all the British Indians in South Africa. Here, in England, they will become barristers or doctors, but there, in South Africa, they may not even be able to cross the border of the Transvaal.

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

274. LETTER TO SIR RAYMOND WEST

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR SIR RAYMOND,

May I, on behalf of Mr. Ally and myself, take this opportunity of repeating our thanks for your noble and inspiring utterances at the breakfast today? I know that we will have the benefit of your support and advice in our struggle for existence. The thought that so many distinguished men are heart and soul with us buoys us up and enables us to hope for better things though the cloud seems to be the blackest.

I remain,
Yours truly,

SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E.
"CHESTERFIELD"
COLLEGE ROAD
NORWOOD, S.E.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4663

[1] *Vide* "Circular Letter", p. 233.

275. LETTER TO LORD REAY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

MY LORD,

Mr. Ally and I, on our own behalf as well as on behalf of the British Indians of the Transvaal whom we have the honour to represent, beg to express our gratefulness to Your Lordship for your presence at the gathering today and for the interesting speech and message you were pleased to give to us to be carried to the British Indians of the Transvaal.

We are very grateful for the assurance that Your Lordship, and those [in] whose name you speak, shared our grievance, and would not be satisfied until it was redressed.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

THE RT. HON. LORD REAY
6, GREAT STANHOPE STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4665

276. LETTER TO C. H. WANG

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR SIR,

I have your promise that you will let me have an article for *Indian Opinion*. I still await it. I leave on Saturday by the 11.35 a.m. train. If you can let me have it before, I shall appreciate it; if not, please forward it to me at Box 6522, Johannesburg, and mind you do not fail.

I have read your synopsis of the Chinese grievances. I think it is well drawn [up]. However, it is open to serious objections in one or two cases because you do not know the position thoroughly.

I am,
Yours truly,

C. H. WANG, ESQ., D.C.L.
28, MONTAGUE STREET
RUSSELL SQUARE

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4659

277. LETTER TO D. G. PANSE

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR SIR,

Some time during the month, on my return to the Hotel, I found a card left by you. I kept it in the hope of being able to call on you during my stay here. I however find that it is not possible for me to do so. I therefore now write to apologize.

I am,
Yours truly,

D. G. PANSE, ESQ.
INNS OF COURT HOTEL
HIGH HOLBORN

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4660

278. LETTER TO MISS E. LAWSON

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR MISS LAWSON,

Many thanks for your note. We leave on Saturday. I am delighted you are already in the thick of the fight and that you can speak so hopefully of your work. Both Mr. Ally and I will be interested to learn of your progress from day to day. I have your promise to keep yourself in touch with the British Indian question in South Africa. Have I not? You must secure from Mr. Ritch a copy of the *Indian Opinion* to read every week.

I am,
Yours truly,

MISS EDITH LAWSON
74, PRINCE'S SQUARE

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4661

279. LETTER TO MISS E. J. BECK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR MISS BECK,

Many thanks for your note of the 28th instant. I am sorry, much as I should like to do so, that I could not pay you a visit before leaving for South Africa. The Deputation leaves on Saturday next.

I am asking Mr. Pather, the young Indian about whom I have written to you, to pay you a call on Sunday.[1]

I am,
Yours truly,

MISS E. J. BECK
233, ALBION ROAD
STOKE NEWINGTON, N.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4662

280. LETTER TO J. H. POLAK

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

DEAR MR. POLAK,

After all, I think that Ruthnum should, at least for the present, go to the Van Weenen's. The Bedford County School won't have him by reason of his being over-age. I have had no time to look up any other institution. He must leave India House at the earliest opportunity. If therefore the Van Weenen's are prepared still to accept him, will you kindly arrange so that Ruthnum can leave for Westcliffe on Monday? I would like Miss Weenen to give him all the education she is capable of giving him. Perhaps she can also secure a private tutor or admission for him to a school or class in Westcliffe. Under the above proposal, Ruthnum Pather need not take out a railway season ticket as he would be going to town only six days every term. I would like Miss Weenen to treat him as a member of the family, to be perfectly frank and open

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Miss E.J. Beck", pp. 234-5.

with him and never to hesitate to point out to Ruthnum his defects either in speech, in manner or in mode of living. He should in short be treated as a very young lad and receive loving supervision. He has in him the making[s] of a very good man if at the impressionable time of his life he receives proper handling.

You may, if you like, pass on this letter to Miss Van Weenen.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4664

281. LETTER TO S. J. MEANEY

[HOTEL CECIL,
LONDON,]
November 29, 1906

S. J. MEANEY, ESQ.
THE COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter I now enclose herewith two copies of the printed letter[1] addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Delegates.

I may state that the Delegates leave for South Africa on Saturday next.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

2 enclosures

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4666

[1] This must be "Memorial to Lord Elgin", pp. 110-2, of which a printed copy is not, however, available.

282. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

HOTEL CECIL,
STRAND, W.C.,
November 30, 1906[2]

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
[LONDON]

SIR,

On the eve of the departure of the Indian Deputation from the Transvaal, may we trespass upon your courtesy to allow us to offer our thanks to the many supporters of the British Indian cause who have rendered us their valuable assistance in putting our case before the Imperial Government and the British public. The unfailing courtesy we have experienced from gentlemen representing different shades of opinion, from all parties, and from the Press has been a source of keenest satisfaction to us and has inspired us with a new hope. Our brief stay in London has prevented us from personally waiting on all whom we should have liked to meet. We have, however, received support and sympathy even from them.

The lesson we have drawn from the above is that we may rely upon the British sense of fair play and justice and that the cause we have the honour to espouse is absolutely just. May we restate it in a few words? We ask for no political power in the Transvaal. We do not strive for unrestricted immigration of British Indians, but we do respectfully and emphatically claim the ordinary rights of citizenship for those who are already in the country—namely, freedom of ownership of land, freedom of locomotion, freedom of trade, subject to such requirements as may be necessary in the interests of the community as a whole. In short, the British Indians in the Transvaal claim the right to live in the Transvaal with self-respect and dignity. The Indian community protests against any class distinction being made, and it has exerted itself against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, because it violates in the most brutal manner the principles above laid down. In our humble opinion we feel that if we cannot secure for our countrymen, whom

[1] This was sent to other papers also and published in *South Africa*, 1-12-1906; was later reproduced in *India*, 7-12-1906, and in *Indian Opinion*, 29-12-1906, with a few verbal variations.

[2] The letter published in *South Africa* is dated November 29.

and the then ministry in Natal addressed a circular letter[1] to the municipalities of Natal that, unless they exercised reasonably, moderately and with due regard for vested rights, the power given to them, the Act would have to be amended so as to restore the inherent jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

10. It is submitted that the right of the Supreme Court to review the decisions of licensing officers should be restored at the earliest opportunity unless the Indian traders are to lose all they have in the Colony.

11. The late Mr. Escombe in his latter days deplored the deprivation of the right of approaching the Supreme Court in appeal against decisions of licensing officers.

MUNICIPALITIES BILL

12. The attempt to deprive the Indian ratepayers of the right to exercise the municipal franchise is held to be totally unjustifiable and wantonly insulting.

13. It is debatable whether India possesses representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise. But it is not open to question as to the municipal franchise.

14. Both the late Sir John Robinson and the late Mr. Escombe said emphatically that the Indian community ought not to be deprived of the municipal franchise.[2]

15. The moral effect of sanctioning such legislation will be very serious and the Indians will be further degraded in the estimation of the Colonists.

CONCLUSION

16. It now only remains for me to add that regarding Natal the remedy is absolutely in the hands of the Imperial Government. [The] prosperity of Natal is dependent on a continuance of indentured labour from India. Natal cannot be allowed to draw upon India for a supply of indentured labour when she refuses to treat the resident Indian population with justice and decency.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: C. O. 179, Vol. 239/Misc. Off.

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 91.
[2] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 193.

284. LETTER TO PROFESSOR GOKHALE

UNION-CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. *BRITON*,
December 3, 1906

DEAR PROF. GOKHALE,

I am on way back to Johannesburg. I wrote to you from London.[1] Sir Muncherji suggests that there should be in India a separate South Africa British Indian Committee in the same way as in London. By this time you probably know all about the London Committee. If a committee were formed in India, I have no doubt all parties would unite. Mr. Bennett told me that Mr. Fraser of *The Times* [*of India*] would help willingly. Many members of the Chamber of Commerce too may unite and the Aga Khan will certainly do so. If some such organization be formed, it will do most effective work.

The importance of the question was fully realized by everyone in London. I am aware that Sir Pherozeshaw[2] does not see eye to eye with us in this matter but I venture to think that he is mistaken. Anyhow if a committee were formed, even if it did not do much good, it could not do harm. In order to have a committee you certainly need some local man with an accurate knowledge of the position in South Africa. As to that I can make no suggestion.

I remain,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.] Please write to me Box 6522, Johannesburg.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2246

285. RITCH'S SPEECH AT EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION[3]

[Before *December 20, 1906*]

A paper on "The Burden of British Indians in South Africa" was read by Mr. L. W. Ritch at the Caxton Hall on November 26 last, under the auspices of the East India Association. Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree was in the chair. Among those present were Lord Reay,

[1] This letter has not been traced.
[2] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta
[3] This was drafted by Gandhiji on board the ship; *vide* following item, p. 259.

Sir Raymond West, Sir Frederick Tyler, Sir George Birdwood, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Brown, Mr. Morison and Mr. Arathoon. Professor Parmanand and Mr. Mukerjee were among the Indians present. The speech described in detail the condition [of Indians] all over South Africa. As most of the points made by Mr. Ritch are already known to the readers of this journal, I shall not summarize the speech here.

After Mr. Ritch had read his paper, the chairman called upon Messrs Gandhi and Ally to speak on the subject. Mr. Gandhi acknowledged with gratitude the help rendered by the East India Association to the cause of British Indians in South Africa and warned the assembly that, if the new act were passed, the responsibility would lie squarely on every Englishman. For, whatever laws were enacted in South Africa, they were made in the name of the King Emperor. If therefore the British people were at all inclined to do justice to the three hundred millions in India, they should ensure that the hardships of Indians in the Colonies were ended.

Mr. Ally spoke next and supported Mr. Gandhi's argument. He pointed out that alien peoples such as Armenians were free to enter the Transvaal, while the Indians were subjected to various kinds of disabilities. This should happen no more.

Sir Raymond West said that, listening to Mr. Ritch's speech and the information given by the Delegates, he felt ashamed. Was the duty of England over once self-government had been granted to the Colony? If that were so, the term "Imperial race" ceased to have meaning and should no more be used. Self-government for a Colony did not give it the right to trample upon the non-whites. The Indians had a good cause, and with patience they were bound to get their grievances redressed.

Mr. Thornton pleaded strongly for justice being done to Indians in the Transvaal. He said that nothing could be more modest than the demands put forward by them, and they admitted of no dispute.

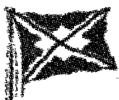
Mr. Nusserwanjee Cooper, Editor of *The Parsee Chronicle*, said that he had travelled in British Guiana and had found the Indians there quite happy. They enjoyed all the rights and many of them had risen to high positions. The Indians in South Africa should have the same rights and privileges. That they had to suffer hardships was gross injustice.

Mr. Wise, a planter from Ceylon, took exception to Mr. Ritch's censure of indentured labour. They went there of their own free will, and it was not for others to say anything about it. Mr. Wise was followed by Mr. Martin Wood, Sir Leslie Probyn and others.

Replying to questions, Mr. Ritch said that, if one had to choose between doing the right thing by the Indians and losing the Colonies,

2246-1

UNION-CASTLE LINE



R·M·S "BRITON"

3/12/06

Dear Prof. Gokhale,

I am on my back to Jo'burg. I write to you from ~~Bombay~~ London. Sir Mancherji suggests that there should be in India a separate South Africa British Indian Committee in the same way as in London. By this time you probably

2 2246-2

know all about the London Committee. If a committee were formed in India, I have no doubt all parties would unite. Mr Bennett told me that Mr Fraser of the Times would help willingly. Many members of the Chamber of Commerce too may unite and the Aga Khan will certainly [illegible]. If you [illegible] be pleased [illegible]

it would be any day better to let the Colonies go. But to deny justice to the Indians would be a matter of shame to the British people.

Winding up the discussion, Sir Muncherji said that he had been thinking of the problem for many years and that he could not stand the hardships imposed upon the Indians in South Africa. Sir Raymond West had counselled patience, but he himself held there was no longer any room for patience. Where was the scope for patience when Indians were actually being deprived of their rights?

Before the meeting dispersed, a resolution expressing sympathy with the British Indians in South Africa was moved by Miss Winterbottom, the Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, and was passed. With a vote of thanks to Mr. Ritch, the proceedings came to a close.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

286. DEPUTATION NOTES - IV

[Before *December 20, 1906*]

Their work completed, the Delegates left England by the same mail-ship which carries this letter. In fact, this note is being written on board the steamer.

The last week will abide in our memory for ever. Every moment strengthened our confidence that the mission on which the Delegates went to England would succeed.

Second Meeting of M. P's.

After Mr. Morley's reply, the Members of Parliament became more alert. They thought that, if the Royal assent were given to the Ordinance, England's prestige would suffer. They therefore decided to hold another meeting. Sir Charles Schwann, Mr. Cox and Mr. Scott busied themselves with this work. They asked us to issue circulars for the meeting. These were got ready and despatched overnight. The meeting took place on Monday; and the Members resolved to wait upon the Prime Minister and speak to him about the Ordinance. A committee was appointed and it met Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The Prime Minister said that he did not approve of the Ordinance, and that he would speak to Lord Elgin on the matter. This provided the first reason for entertaining the hope of which we have spoken.

Interview with Churchill

We met Mr. Winston Churchill at the time fixed by him. He spoke nicely. He asked both of us whether we were not afraid of responsible

government in case the Ordinance were refused assent. What if a worse act were to be passed by the new Government? We replied that we could not imagine an act worse than the present Ordinance, and that we had asked for refusal of assent leaving the future to take care of itself. He then asked us to send him a brief note, covering, say, a foolscap sheet, of all that we had to say on this Ordinance, on the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance[1] and on the question as a whole. He would read and consider it. Mr. Ally then reminded him that he was the same person who had been present at the Point to receive Mr. Churchill on his return from the war[2]. And it was with the same Mr. Churchill that he now pleaded for redress on behalf of the Indian community. Mr. Churchill smiled, patted Mr. Ally on the back and said that he would do all he could. This answer added to our hopes. The brief account asked for by Mr. Churchill has already been sent to him.

Interview to "The Daily News"

The name of the Editor is Gardiner. When we repeated the whole story for his benefit, he promised to write strongly on the subject, and a poignant article was published the following day.

Party to Well-wishers

The Delegates may be said to have done the last bit of their work on the 29th. They gave a breakfast at Hotel Cecil to the gentlemen who had helped them. At the breakfast, the idea of the Committee was [formally] put forward. A fairly large number of persons was present. Lord Reay made a very good and powerful speech. There were also other effective speeches. But as I intend giving a separate account of the meeting and of the Committee, I shall say nothing more today.

Delegates' Farewell Letter

The Delegates have sent a letter[3] of thanks to the Press. They have said that the Indian community did not want to fight against the Colony, but wished to solve its problems amicably. When a blow was directed against the community, it had to use a shield to ward it off. The community would, as far as possible, act with due deference to the views of the colonists. But at the same time, it would demand that there should be no detraction from the normal rights to which every citizen was entitled.

[1] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Churchill", p. 240.

[2] Evidently the Boer War

[3] "Letter to the Press", pp. 251-2.

Send-off

The Delegates left Waterloo station on December 1. Among those present to see them off were Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. J. H. Polak, Mr. Ritch, the two Godfrey brothers, Mr. Suliman Manga, Mr. Mukerji, Mrs. Polak, Miss Smith, Mr. Simmonds, Prof. Parmanand and Mr. Ruthnum Pather.

Thanks for Help

The names of those among the public men who helped us have already been mentioned and they have been thanked. But it remains for us to thank those who helped us without any thought of being publicly known. Among them are Mr. Simmonds, Miss Lawson, Mr. George Godfrey, Mr. James Godfrey, Mr. Ritch, Mr. Manilal Mehta, Mr. Adam Gool, Mr. Manga and Mr. Joseph Royeppen. Though Mr. Simmonds and Miss Lawson received payment, they did not work merely as wage-earners. They worked late into the night ungrudgingly. The Godfrey brothers were in attendance everyday and assisted us. Gool and Manga, too, came whenever there was need. Similarly, Mr. Ruthnum Pather, who is at present studying in England, used to come and help us. But for all this help, the work of the M.P's. could not have been carried out as planned. The number of notices issued to the M.P's. alone was about 2,000. Anyone can realize the time that must have been taken in sending these out. It is superfluous to praise Mr. Ritch. His work is well known to the Indian community. Prof. Parmanand also gave us all the help that was needed.

Ritch's Speech

Mr. Ritch delivered a speech[1] before the East India Association. As I give an account of it separately, I do not write about it here.

Cablegram at Madeira

Having finished our work, we left by s. s. *Briton*. We received two cablegrams when *Briton* touched Madeira. One was from Mr. Ritch, and the other from Johannesburg. Both said that the Ordinance had been refused assent by Lord Elgin. This was more than we had hoped for. But God's ways are inscrutable. Well-directed efforts yield appropriate fruit. The case of the Indian community was just, and circumstances turned out to be favourable. It is a happy outcome, but we may not exult over it. Much of the struggle still lies ahead. The Indian community has still to do much of its duty. We shall be able to digest our victory only if we prove our worth. Otherwise, it will turn out to be poison. We shall pursue these reflections later.

[1] "Ritch's Speech at East India Association", pp. 255-7

NATAL STRUGGLE

Lord Elgin has asked for a written statement[1] about Natal. This has been sent to him. The result will come to be known in the course of time. The Committee that has been set up is left with the work of striving for Natal and Vrededorp. It will thus have little respite.

CONCLUDED

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

287. DEPUTATION'S THANKS[2]

[CAPE TOWN,]
December 20, 1906

The Delegates have received as many as thirty messages of greetings from Durban in addition to a few from Mafeking. As it is difficult to write individually to all those who sent these, they beg to acknowledge the messages with thanks. It is God who has to be thanked, not the Delegates who have done no more than their duty.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 22-12-1906

288. RESOLUTIONS AT RECEPTION MEETING[3]

JOHANNESBURG,
[December 23, 1906]

RESOLUTION 2.[4] This meeting of the British Indians of the Transvaal further tenders its thanks to the several friends in England who have helped the Delegates by their active support, and authorizes the Chairman

[1] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", pp. 253-4.

[2] This was sent by Gandhiji to the Editor, *Indian Opinion*, from Cape Town on his arrival from England on December 20.

[3] On their return to South Africa, Gandhiji and Ally were given a reception by the British Indian Association at the Hamidia Islamic Society Hall on December 23. In reply to the addresses presented to them and to speeches eulogizing their services, Gandhiji and Ally said, according to *Indian Opinion*, that "their work had only just commenced. They had to show to the European Colonists that the Indian claim was just and reasonable and such as no sober Colonist would take exception to".

[4] This and the following resolution appear to have been drafted by Gandhiji. Earlier, the meeting adopted Resolution 1 congratulating Gandhiji and Ally on the success of their mission. All the three resolutions were unanimously passed.

of the British Indian Association and the Acting Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society to write to the gentlemen letters of thanks.

RESOLUTION 3. This meeting of the British Indians of the Transvaal further places on record the respectful desire of the Indian community to work in co-operation with the European colonists and to yield to their wishes in all reasonable ways and trust[s] that they will reciprocate the sentiment by helping the Indian settlers in the Transvaal to live in the Colony with self-respect and dignity, and in the enjoyment of those civic rights which all well-behaved citizens under civilized government have the right to possess.

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

289. SPEECH AT RECEPTION

The following is a brief report of Gandhiji's speech at a reception given in his honour by Omar Haji Amod Zaveri at his house:

[DURBAN,
December 26, 1906]

Mr. Gandhi thanked everyone. He expressed appreciation of the help rendered by Mr. Ally, and added that they should not be overjoyed at the cancellation of the Ordinance. The time had now come for all of them, Hindus and Muslims, to remain united and to carry on a real struggle. He emphasized the need for everyone to remain united in all such activity.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

290. REPLY TO WELCOME ADDRESS AT VERULAM

On December 29, 1906, the Indian community in Verulam presented an address to Gandhiji and H. O. Ally. Replying to the address on behalf of Ally, who was not present, and himself, Gandhiji said:

December 29, 1906

I thank you for the address of welcome to Mr. Ally and myself. I sympathize with the labourers in their hardships. We did put up a stiff fight when the [£3] tax was imposed on them. It is very difficult now to get any redress in the matter. We cannot do much about work taken on Sundays. As desired by you, I shall convey the message of your address and your thanks to Mr. Ally.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

291. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE

[JOHANNESBURG,]
December 29, 1906

TO
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
28, QUEEN ANNE'S CHAMBERS, S.W.
[LONDON]

PLEASE MOVE GOVERNMENT REGARDING ORDINANCE.

DEPURITION[1]

Colonial Office Records: C. O.-291, Vol. 291/Misc.

292. A RETROSPECT

It has been our practice, during Christmas every year, to take stock of the position of Indians in South Africa. On this occasion we are glad to be able to inform our readers of the success achieved by the Deputation in the matter of the Transvaal Ordinance, which is the most important event of the year. As a result of Lord Elgin withholding assent to the Ordinance, it is not only the Transvaal Indians who have benefited, but the entire Indian community in South Africa. The community has gone one step forward. The main reason for withholding sanction was, we believe, saving the Indian community from a stigma which the Ordinance was certain to have put on it. This means that the Imperial Government will not sanction any law that will apply to the Indians but not to the whites. If we are right in assuming this, the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance, which prohibits Indians from holding any leases of Stands in Vrededorp, should also be refused sanction. And the Natal Municipalities Franchise Bill should also be treated likewise. *The Natal Mercury* has, however, drawn a distinction and based on it the demand that, while the Transvaal is still a Crown Colony and so open to interference from the Imperial Government in its legislation, Natal is a self-governing Colony and that the Imperial Government should not interfere in its affairs. This argument is fallacious; for there is a clause in the Constitution of Natal which requires that all class legislation passed by the Natal parliament should have the approval of the Imperial Government before it becomes law. If therefore this

[1] The Colonial Office Records show that this was the code word used by Gandhiji as Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association.

clause is not a mere show-piece but meant really to protect the Indian community, the argument of *The Natal Mercury* is not valid. There is therefore every reason to expect that the Natal Bill too will be vetoed.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

293. OPPRESSION IN THE CAPE

It has come to our notice that, under the Cape Immigration Act, the Cape Indians, while taking out an immigration certificate or permit, furnish their photograph, pay a fee of £1 and, on occasion, give their right and left thumb-impressions as well. We have also come to know that this has gone on for some time past. We are deeply grieved to learn this. It not only makes the Indians hang their heads in shame, but, if not stopped, it will have repercussions elsewhere and will harm the cause of the entire Indian community in South Africa. It is quite easy to remedy this evil. For, as we understand it, it is not done under any properly enacted law; it is the immigration officer who, in consultation with a few Indians, has introduced this system of taking photographs. If, therefore, Indians meet the immigration officer, immediate redress may be possible. We are anxious to learn that effective measures have been taken in this regard without the least delay. At one time the Asiatic Officer had introduced a similar regulation in the Transvaal; but it had to be repealed when the Indian community opposed it.

Moreover, it is found that these certificates will be valid for one year only. There is absolutely no reason why they should be so limited. To a man who has no knowledge of English but is a resident of the Cape, a permanent certificate should be issued stating that he has a right to return to the Cape. We are not prisoners released on parole that our certificates of freedom can be cancelled if we fail to return within a given period. The situation in the Cape is believed to be better than that elsewhere. We appeal to the Cape leaders to keep up that position by their diligence.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 29-12-1906

294. REPLY TO WELCOME ADDRESS AT DURBAN

A meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held at Durban on Tuesday, January 1, 1907, to present an address to Gandhiji and H. O. Ally, with Dawad Mahomed in the chair. Gandhiji replied as follows:

[DURBAN,
January 1, 1907]

I do not propose to speak at length, as it is already late. Both Mr. Ally and myself are very grateful to you for the kind sentiments you have expressed about us. Unity is our greatest need here. We are sure to obtain our just rights if we stand united and demand them politely but firmly. We could not have achieved anything in England but for the help we received from the people there. We have seen that British rule is essentially just and we can find redress for our grievances through representations. But we should not be elated by our success. Our struggle has just begun. Now it is up to us to retain the [fruits of] victory. We have to explain things to the politicians here. Before I conclude, I would appeal to all of you to do your duty, working actively, with body, mind and wealth, for the good of the community.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

295. SPEECH AT DINNER

On Wednesday, January 2, 1907, a dinner was given in honour of Gandhiji and Ally by Messrs M. C. Comroodeen & Co. at their premises in Grey Street, Durban. The Manager of the firm spoke on the occasion and Gandhiji and Ally replied. The following is a combined report of their speeches:

[DURBAN,
January 2, 1907]

Messrs Gandhi and Ally each replied, and narrated their work in London. During their stay, short as it was, they came in contact with all classes of men from the humblest politician to the highest, including the Premier, and none of them on hearing the case put in such a reasonable light, grudged them their support, no matter what party he belonged to. To give some idea, the Delegates stated that 5,000 penny stamps were used for their work in London. The Committee that had been formed to watch their affairs was composed of highly influential men, to whom they entrusted their case in South Africa. Strong and sincere promises of help had been given by Members of both the Houses of Parliament, who were convinced of the moderation of their demand, and the conciliatory spirit of their case. When the Ordinance was introduced, it was passed so hurriedly that all the protests were disregarded, and yet they did not seek any outside interference. They took the right course, and the right

had prevailed. They had high hopes from the work of the Committee. The great organ of public opinion, *The Times*, in London, had opened its columns to discuss their case, and when the position was explicitly explained and understood, there was only one reply, and that was that their grievance was just, modest, and reasonable to any right-thinking human being. When they left the English shore, they had strong hopes that redress would not be denied to them: and when, after some days, they reached Madeira they had a cable to say that the Ordinance had been disallowed. The Delegates asked the audience to conform to all their responsibilities as citizens, and they had every hope from British justice. The struggle had only just begun, but they did not despair of the future.

The Natal Mercury, 4-1-1907

296. REPLY TO MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION'S ADDRESS

A well-attended meeting of the Mahomedan Association was held at Durban on Thursday, January 3, 1907, to present an address to Gandhiji and Ally with Osman Ahmed Effendi in the chair. Gandhiji replied as follows:

[DURBAN,
January 3, 1907]

A number of associations have been founded recently. If they want to, they can do a great deal for the community. The workers in these associations should act as servants of these bodies, not as masters. Only so can real service be rendered. Also we shall gain much strength and influence if the various associations co-operate with one another. Moreover, the suggestion made by Mr. Paul about education really deserves consideration. He also referred to the land in Phœnix. I am glad to say that I do not look upon it as my personal property, but as belonging to the community. I am sorry to state that the Government in India is trying to create disunity among Hindus and Muslims there. It would like to see us divided as it believes that only thus can British rule in India be perpetuated. A cablegram is published in *The Advertiser* today, which we cannot accept as genuine. It is certainly the Government which sends out these cablegrams and arranges such meetings. Many people want to know the main reason of our success [in London]. It lies in the perfect accord that obtained between Mr. Ally and myself. Never were there any differences between us. We have been successful only because we acted with love and in concert, like father and son. It should be remembered by all that, even though following different religions, we remained united in our struggle. Secondly, truth and justice were on our side. I believe God is always near me. He is never away from me. May you also act in this faith. Believe that God is near you and always follow the truth. This is all I ask of you.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

297. SPEECH AT DURBAN RECEPTION

An address was presented to Gandhiji and Ally by the Mahomedan Association at the Indian Theatre in Victoria Street on Thursday, January 3, 1907. In reply to the address and speeches by Dawad Mahomed, Dada Abdulla and others, Gandhiji and Ally spoke. The following is a combined report of their speeches:

[DURBAN,
January 3, 1907]

The Delegates spoke, each in their turn, on broad politics, further giving the audience a review of their hard work in England. They acknowledged the sterling services and important counsels given to them by Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, who placed his immense influence and long experience at their disposal, as did Mr. Ameer Ali, ex-judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court. The importance of India as a precious possession of the British Empire, with its 300,000,000 people who form a third part of the King-Emperor's subjects, played a great part in their success. The English audience was, at several meetings, asked whether they would allow the South African colonists to ill-treat undeservedly the sons of India, who fought their wars in China, South Africa, Somaliland, Soudan, and the frontiers of India; the people whose loyalty could be gauged by remembering that a handful of white soldiers (about 78,000) was sufficient to guard the 300 millions of fellow-subjects in India, and whether they would like the representatives of the 13,000 British Indians of the Transvaal when they went back to India, to tell their kith and kin that the great Emperor who ruled this vast Empire was unable to save them from undue humiliation in South Africa at the hands of narrow-minded white colonists? The instant reply of the enthusiastic audiences was strongly in the negative.

Messrs Gandhi and Ally convinced the Indian audience that they had returned with a confident conviction from England that any reasonable and just grievance, when laid with moderation before the English rulers at Home, would not go unredressed; and, in conclusion, asked the members of the community to conform to all the laws and by-laws of the Government whether just or unjust, and make themselves good citizens, as in them lay their own salvation. They must convince their white neighbours that their presence in South Africa was not unbeneficial to the Colony, and they must work side by side with European colonists, who should always be honoured as the predominant race.

The Natal Mercury, 8-1-1907

298. REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION

In his annual report recently published, the Superintendent of Education in Natal has said that whatever education is given [to Indians] is provided by the Government at its own expense and that the Indian community does nothing in the matter. The charge is partly, though not entirely, justified. Besides running a Madressa at Umgeni and one or two other private schools, the Indian community makes small occasional contributions towards the education of Indians. Hence we cannot admit the charge of the Superintendent in the form in which he has made it. But it will have to be admitted by every Indian to his shame that the charge is on the whole justified. Even in the Madressa there is plenty of scope for improvement if only we have the enthusiasm. We are firmly of the view that, just as there should be provision in every Madressa for the teaching of Arabic, so should there be provision for secular or practical education, that is, for the teaching of English and Gujarati or any other Indian language. Moreover, whatever teaching there is in Arabic is mostly parrot-like; in other words, it is learning by rote without understanding the meaning. On this point, we would advise our Muslim brethren to consider the example of Egypt. There education is imparted in Arabic from childhood, but with comprehension of the meaning, so that all people can speak Arabic and understand what they read from the earliest age. This is also true of other education in the Egyptian Madressa. If this reform is carried out in every Indian Madressa, many Muslim children will receive some education without difficulty. In this matter we cannot but confess that the leaders of the community have remained backward.

Apart from the Madressa, there is so little by way of other facilities, and the Indian community has been so careless that we must admit whatever charge is made against us on this count. It does not become us to pass on the blame to others by saying that the Government does nothing for education. It is as much our duty as that of the Government to provide for education. If the Government fails in its duty, that is no reason for us to follow suit. On the contrary, if the Government does nothing for education, the responsibility of the Indian community becomes all the greater. We are therefore constrained to say that the above charge is quite justified.

We know that it is easy to be critical but difficult to suggest remedies and apply them. But we shall be able to take a step forward only if we admit that we have been guilty. Three things are necessary for meeting the problem. The first thing is buildings and equipment. In this matter, only the well-to-do can do much.

The second thing to be done is that, just as the rich ought to contribute money, so also ought educated Indians to place their education at the disposal of the community, free of charge or all but free of charge. Making money is not the object of education. If the Roman Catholic community is foremost in the world in the matter of education, it is so because it has from the beginning decided that those who are to be engaged in teaching should give their services free, accepting only what is necessary for their maintenance. Besides, they are of mature age and unmarried, so that they are able to devote all their time to the single job of teaching. We may or may not be able to reach that level, but there is no doubt that we ought to take a lesson from their example. Even those who have received but moderate education will do well to think over these suggestions. We shall consider later and in detail in what manner educated people can help, easily and without much trouble.[1]

The third remedy lies in the hands of the parents. If among our people the parents had been eager to see their children educated, they would have made the necessary provision somehow, and means would have been found easily enough for the two measures suggested above. But Indian parents are backward in this respect, and to us this is a cause of humiliation. We cannot find a single period in history when an uneducated people has become prosperous. It is not that education has become necessary only in modern times; it has always been so. Only the form has changed. The kind of education, which we cannot do without now, was not absolutely necessary in olden days. We believe that a people without modern education will fall behind in the end; not only that, it would not even be surprising if such a people were destroyed altogether. Be that as it may, it is certain that, whatever struggle we put up for our rights, the condition of Indians will never become what it ought to be as long as we remain backward in education.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

[1] *Vide* "Duty of Educated Indians", pp. 288-9.

299. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Many prominent people who formerly used to ignore the Congress took notice of its session this year. The main reason is the great storm that is raging in Bengal at present. Reuter has sent long reports to the newspapers here. This is the first time that the Congress has received such publicity. The session has also produced a great impression this year. The address by the Grand Old Man of India is very forceful and effective. His words deserve to be enshrined in our hearts. The substance of the address is that India will not prosper until we wake up and become united. To put it differently, it means that it lies in our hands to achieve *swaraj*, to prosper and to preserve the rights we value. On an earlier occasion we mentioned Mr. Asquith's reply to the women of Great Britain that, if all of them demanded the franchise, it could not but be granted. We must therefore realize that, like us here, people in England too have difficulty in obtaining their rights. There, the people can secure their demands with less difficulty. That this is so is not because they are white, but because they are firmly united in their demands and, if these are rejected, they can create trouble for the rulers. When the South Africa British Indian Committee was formed in England, Dr. Oldfield said that strength and justice were dear to the British people. Under British rule, justice is often not to be had without some show of strength, whether of the pen, of the sword, or of money. For our part we are to use only the strength that comes from unity and truth. That is to say, our bondage in India can cease this day, if all the people unite in their demands and are ready to suffer any hardships that may befall them. These thoughts, which relate to India, will also be useful to us here.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

300. TOBACCO

We have written now and again in these columns about the harm done by smoking or chewing tobacco. The evil effects of tobacco, as our realization of them grows, have alarmed many great men. The famous Major-General Baden-Powell[1] of Mafeking, addressing schoolboys in Liverpool, said that many of the world's best men were non-smokers. Basset, the football player, Grace, the cricketeer, Henlane, the great rower, Weston, the walking champion, Tej, the golf star, Taylor, the great hunter, Celloo, the famous hiker, are all of them non-smokers. When Baden-Powell's stock of tobacco ran out, the soldiers at Mafeking addicted to tobacco became absolutely useless, for they were helpless if they could not smoke. Thus smoking makes of man a slave. In England, it is said, addicts to smoking are quite indifferent to those around them. The evil effects of this habit become really very dangerous when it spreads among juveniles. They learn to steal and commit other crimes. They deceive their parents and ruin their health. They become irritable, and by the time they become adults, they lose their strength of mind. The habit of smoking has not spread as much among Indians as among Europeans. However, it will be adding to our many ills if educated Indians lose their sanity and take to smoking.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

301. BOOKS TO BE PUBLISHED

We intend to publish translations or summaries of English books which have not yet been translated in India, but which are likely to be of use, more or less, to all Indian readers. Considering that a large section of our readers are Muslims, we are thinking of publishing a translation of the celebrated Mr. Justice Ameer Ali's book on Islam which came out some time ago. Justice Ameer Ali has given us the permission to translate it. The consent of the publishers is yet to be had. If that also is received and if the idea is favoured by our readers and they are prepared to encourage us, we intend to publish a translation of *The Spirit of Islam* in book form. We must say that Justice Ameer Ali's book has won fame throughout the world and deserves to be read by

[1] (1857-1941); founder of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organizations

every Muslim, indeed by every Indian. There is much to be learnt from it. We shall gratefully bear in mind any suggestions our readers may have to make. The suggestions, it is requested, should be brief and legibly written.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

302. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
About *January 5, 1907*]

The above sums must have already been credited to your account in the statements sent to you.

Shri Bhabha of Volksrust tells me that you still continue to send the advertisement bill to him. He has already paid it and the money also has been credited here.

Kalyandas is now busy recovering the dues here. Many subscribers complain that they do not get *Indian Opinion* regularly. The two enclosed copies were sent in a single wrapper. You will notice that the postal stamp on Desai's copy has not been defaced. You may remove the stamp and use it.[2] Kalyandas believes that some of our people there pack the copies and stick the wrappers carelessly, and they therefore fall apart and the papers get lost. I am writing to Mr. West also about this. We ought to be very careful. I think it necessary for someone to supervise the work of wrapping. You may discuss this with others there.

I am going to write about the London Letter. I shall write to *The Times of India* also. We are bound by a contract with Reuter for three months, so we can make an alternative arrangement only at the end of the three months. I am, however, moving in the matter straightaway.

Ask Mania[3] to write to me. Let me know what he reads under your guidance. I sent all the matter I could. Let me know whether or not

[1] Of the three sheets of this letter, the first is missing. From the contents, however, it is clear that it was addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi at Phœnix. The reference to Justice Ameer Ali's book in the last paragraph would suggest that the letter was written about January 5.

[2] Apparently, the stamped packet containing Desai's copy was itself wrapped in another stamped packet containing someone else's copy.

[3] Manilal, Gandhiji's second son

it was enough. If you have received anything regarding the translation of Justice Ameer Ali's book, send it on to me.[1]

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6071

303. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
About *January 5, 1907*[2]]

[MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,]

I see in the list of subscribers sent by you for collection, the name of K. M. Kagdi, Box 296. I remember having sent the name to you, but he tells me that he never received a single copy. He clears his box everyday, but does not receive any. Will you kindly make enquiries? If we have been sending the paper, collection is easy. If not, we have to drop this collection. You may, however, commence sending the paper from the date of this letter, if it has not been sent before. I have looked through the printed list sent by you, and I did not find the name there earlier.

You should try not to take Manilal from the English desk if possible. It is necessary to give him regular training. There is a great deal of force in Mr. West's argument with regard to him.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6085

304. SUPERINTENDENT ALEXANDER

Mr. Alexander[3], till now the [Police] Superintendent of Durban, has left his post. He has received much honour in Durban in recognition of his excellent services. He was very kind to the Indians. To show the appreciation of the Durban Indian community there is, we hear, a move to present him with an address. We would advise that there should be no delay and the matter be taken in hand immediately. We

[1] The reference may be to the publisher's permission which was awaited; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] This incomplete letter bears neither a date nor an address. From the contents, however, it is clear that it was addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi. It refers to the collection of dues, which was being seriously undertaken at Phœnix about this time. Manilal's studies and the collection of dues are discussed in this as well as the preceding letter.

[3] It was this officer who came to Gandhiji's rescue when in 1897 he was mobbed at Durban. *Vide* Vol. II, p. 210; also *Autobiography*, Part III, Ch. III.

hope that Mr. Donovan, who has been appointed in Mr. Alexander's place, will continue his policy and deal out justice impartially.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

305. REASONABLE SUGGESTION

The Cape Argus of Cape Town, commenting on the Asiatic Ordinance, suggests that the different governments of South Africa should consult with the Indian leaders with a view to finding a solution of the Indian problem in South Africa.[1] It says further that, if this is not done, both Britain and India will probably suffer. This is an important suggestion, made as it is for the first time by an English journal. If proper steps are immediately taken, it is likely to be acted upon. The suggestion shows that the withholding of assent to the Asiatic Ordinance has had a somewhat salutary effect on the mind of the white population all over South Africa. We have discussed this matter in greater detail in our English article, and we hope that some good will come of it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

306. ETHICAL RELIGION-I[2]

INTRODUCTION

We propose, during the next few weeks, to write a series of articles on this subject for readers of *Indian Opinion*. Hypocrisy has nowadays

[1] *The Cape Argus*, commenting on the situation created by the suspension of the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, said: "We would have the local Governments everywhere take counsel with the leaders of the Indian community. It should be put to these men that they cannot expect white colonists to stand by and see the very texture of the community quickly transformed by an Indian influx; and that some regulations should be arrived at by which undue hardship on the men who are here could be avoided. It is by some such compromise only that we can avoid conflict, good for neither Briton nor Indian." Commenting on this in its English editorial columns, *Indian Opinion* (5-1-1907) described it as "A Wise Suggestion" and argued that "British Indians in South Africa have [always] accepted the principle of restriction of Indian immigration along non-racial lines".

[2] In this and the subsequent seven articles of the same title, Gandhiji summarized, into Gujarati, *Ethical Religion* by William MacIntyre Salter, the founder of the Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago. The book, one of a series issued by the Rationalist Press Association, was published in America in March 1889 and later in England in 1905. In the Gujarati series, Gandhiji summarized only eight of the fifteen chapters.

increased in the world. Whatever a man's religion, he thinks only of its outward form and fails in his real duty. In our crazy pursuit of wealth, we seldom think of the harm we cause, or are likely to cause, to others. Women in Europe do not hesitate in the least to wear soft [kid] gloves even though these are made by killing young and tender animals. It is known the world over how Mr. Rockefeller, said to be the richest man in the world, violated many rules of morality in amassing his fortune. It is because such conditions prevail around them that many people in Europe and America have turned against religion. They argue that, if any religion worth the name existed in the world, the inordinate wickedness that is rampant all round would not be there. This is a mistaken view. As it is common for a workman to quarrel with his tools and not try to look for his own faults, so, instead of thinking of the wickedness in themselves, men brand religion itself as humbug and go on acting and living as they please.

Observing this trend and fearing that, if all religions are destroyed, a great calamity may befall the world and people may forsake the moral path altogether, many Americans and Europeans have come forward to try, in a variety of ways, to bring the people back to that path.

A Society[1] has been founded which has shown, after an investigation of all religions, that not only do all of them teach morality but they are based for the most part on ethical principles; that it is one's duty to obey the laws of ethics whether or not one professes a religion; and that men who would not obey them could do no good either to themselves or to others, in this world or the next. The object of these societies is to influence those who have been led to look down upon all religions because of the prevailing hypocrisy. They find out the fundamentals of all religions, discuss and write about the ethical principles common to them and live up to them. This creed they call Ethical Religion. It is not among the aims of these societies to criticize any religion. Men professing all religions can, and do, join these societies. The advantage of such a society is that members adhere to their own faith more strictly and pay greater attention to its moral teaching. They firmly believe that man ought to abide by the laws of morality and that if he does not, it will mean an end to all order in the world and ultimate destruction.

Mr. Salter, a learned American, has published a book on the subject, which is excellent. Though it does not deal with any religion as such, it contains teachings of universal application. We shall publish the substance of these teachings every week. All that needs to be said about the author is that he practises whatever he advises others

[1] The Society for Ethical Culture, Chicago

to do. We would only appeal to the reader to try to live up to those moral precepts that appeal to him. Then only may we regard our efforts as having been fruitful.

CHAPTER I

It is the moral nature of man by which he rises to good and noble thoughts. The different sciences show us the world as it is. Ethics tells us what it ought to be. It enables man to know how he should act. Man has two windows to his mind: through one he can see his own self as it is; through the other, he can see what it ought to be. It is our task to analyse and explore the body, the brain and the mind of man separately; but if we stop here, we derive no benefit despite our scientific knowledge. It is necessary to know about the evil effects of injustice, wickedness, vanity and the like, and the disaster they spell where the three are found together. And mere knowledge is not enough, it should be followed by appropriate action. An ethical idea is like an architect's plan. The plan shows how the building should be constructed; but it becomes useless if the building is not raised accordingly. Similarly, an ethical idea is useless so long as it is not followed by suitable action. There are many who memorize moral precepts and preach sermons, but they neither practise them nor do they mean to do so. There are some who believe that moral principles are not intended to be practised in this world; they are meant for the other world—the world which lies beyond death. A great thinker has said, "If you wish to attain perfection, you must begin from this very day to live according to the laws of morality at any cost." We need not be scared away by such thoughts; on the contrary we should be glad to live up to them, considering our responsibility in the matter. "Certainly, cousin," said the gallant Earl of Pembroke, on coming up to the Earl of Derby before Aubercoche and finding the battle already won, "you have neither been courteous nor behaved honourably to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me". Only when there is such readiness to accept moral responsibility will men tread the path of virtue.

God is omnipotent, He is perfect. There are no limits to His mercy, to His goodness and to His justice. If this is so, how can we, His bond slaves, stray at all from the moral path? It is no fault of the ethical principles if one following them should fail. However, those committing a breach of morality have only themselves to blame.

In the path of morality there is no such thing as reward for moral behaviour. If a man does some good deed, he does not do it to win applause, he does it because he must. For him doing good is but a higher kind of food, if one may compare food and goodness. And if someone should give him an opportunity to do a good deed, he would feel

grateful just as a starving man would be grateful to the giver of food and bless him.

This ethical religion, of which we have spoken, does not mean the cultivation of gentlemanliness. It does mean that we should become a little more diligent, a little better educated, a little cleaner and neater, etc. All this is no doubt included in it, but it touches only the fringe of ethical religion. Many more things have to be done by man if he would walk along this path; and he has to do them as a matter of duty, knowing them to be a part of his nature, not for gaining any worldly benefit.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-1-1907

307. LETTER TO "THE OUTLOOK"

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *January 12, 1907*]

[TO
THE EDITOR
THE OUTLOOK
SIR,]

May I congratulate you on having recognized by your exhaustive leader on "British Indians in the Transvaal" in your issue of November 24 the Imperial importance of the question? And may I, at the same time, point out that you have, in justifying the anti-Indian policy of the Europeans, done, no doubt unconsciously, an injustice to British Indians in a twofold manner?

First, in my humble opinion, you have missed the central question. You seem to think that Indians on the one hand demand an open door for an unrestricted influx of their countrymen, and that the white colonists on the other, from an instinct of self-preservation, demand that the door should be tightly closed. Such, however, is not the case. Indians ask for the ordinary civil rights enjoyed by all human beings, except criminals, in any civilized state. They admit the principle of restriction of further immigration of their brethren along the lines even as adopted by Australia, but they say, with Mr. Chamberlain[1], that they may not be restricted solely because they are British Indians. If Imperialism has any meaning, how can any exception be taken to a position such as above? I have no doubt that you, sir, will admit that even

[1] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 354-5.

a self-governing colony, so long as it chooses to remain a part of the Empire, may not go so far as to degrade and ill-treat those whom it finds settled within its borders on assumption of self-governing powers.

Secondly, you talk of the necessity of sacrifice of a "principle of logic" (as you are pleased to term it) to the principle of "high expediency". To me, it is not logic so much as morality you would sacrifice on the altar of expediency; but assuming that a logical or a moral principle may be so sacrificed, what is "higher expediency"? It is a wanton wounding of the susceptibilities of a finely strung and highly loyal community like the millions of India, or a firm refusal on the part of the Imperial watch-dog sitting, in Lord Milner's language, on the watch-tower, and sweeping the whole horizon before him to protect an unreasoning and unreasonable colour prejudice.

You incidentally mention the Treaty of Vereeniging[1]. May I draw your attention to the fact that, even if the term "Native" as used there were to include British Indians, it merely suspends a consideration of the granting of the *political* franchise to the "Natives" until after the establishment of responsible government in the Colony. British Indians have, however, in unmistakable language stated that they do not aspire, at any rate at the present stage, to political power.

I am,
Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

308. QUINN'S SPEECH

Mr. Quinn's speech, as reported by our Johannesburg correspondent,[2] deserves attention. It shows that the white population is altogether in the dark about our conditions. Mr. Quinn believes that (1) the Asiatic Ordinance would have prevented the entry of Indians without permits; (2) there are many Indians who have entered the country without permits; (3) the Transvaal law would also have served to check Indian trade.

All these statements are incorrect. The Transvaal Ordinance which has been disallowed would not have prevented the entry of permitless Indians. The only law that can prevent the entry of such persons is the Peace Preservation Ordinance. Also it is not true that many Indians enter without permits. Recent cases show that people are effectively

[1] Signed between the Boers and the British Government in 1902, it brought the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony under British rule.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 279-80.

prevented from doing so. Furthermore, every one knows that the Asiatic Ordinance had no bearing on Indian trade.

All the same, it should be borne in mind that harm is done to the whole Indian community to the extent that some try to enter without permits or with forged ones. Those engaged in such activities should desist from them.

Above all, leading Indians should do all they can to remove this kind of misunderstanding among the white population. A recent example is the incident that occurred in the house of Mr. Dawad Mahomed, which we mention elsewhere.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

309. VREDEDORP ORDINANCE

It will be seen from our Johannesburg Letter that the Vrededorp Ordinance has been passed.[1] Thus there is a danger of Vrededorp Indians having to leave the place. Now that the Ordinance has been passed, the Indian community should realize that there is much work ahead, and that it will have to put up a hard fight. If the Asiatic Ordinance was cancelled, it was only because the matter was widely discussed in England. The same telegram which brought us the news of the passing of the Vrededorp Ordinance also says that our Committee in London is working hard in the matter of the Natal Municipal Bill. It remains to be seen what the result will be. Whatever it be, one thing at least is proved by this: the Committee that we have formed in England should be strengthened and supported energetically. It certainly ought not to be wound up. We invite the attention of every reader to the summary of Mr. Ritch's first letter published by us. If the Committee continues to work in that manner, there is every chance of our profiting a great deal.

This Ordinance [business] also shows that there is nothing like self-help in any matter whatever. That is, as long as we do not do what needs to be done in South Africa, we cannot hope for complete success. What our duty is in South Africa, we shall consider on another occasion.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

[1] However, the "Johannesburg Letter" (pp. 279-80) does not mention the Vrededorp Ordinance.

[2] *Vide* "Natal Licensing Act", pp. 291-5.

310. JAPAN AND AMERICA

The quarrel between Japan and America still continues. California has a large Japanese population, which has made much progress by dint of its intelligence and skill. There are many Japanese boys in American schools. The white population there cannot bear this. Japan is putting up a hard fight over this issue. So far, there has been no solution. President Roosevelt is in a difficult situation. On the one hand, a brave people like the Japanese is being insulted. On the other, those among the white population who would not mind America being involved in a war refuse to listen to Roosevelt's advice and do not allow Japanese boys to enter the schools. It is an impossible situation. America is not in a position even to fight. The Japanese Navy is very much stronger than the American, and only recently it proved its mettle.

In a situation such as this, England too has to weigh matters carefully. While the Japanese are friends of the English, the Americans are their cousins. Whom should England support? It is believed that war can be averted only if England intervenes effectively.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

311. JOHANNESBURG LETTER[1]

Quinn's Speech

A feverish election campaign is going on in the Transvaal in view of the new parliament that is to come into existence. Mr. Quinn is working hard to enter parliament. Addressing his electorate, he spoke to the following effect:

> As a result of the Asiatic Ordinance passed by the Legislative Council some time ago, it has become very difficult for Asiatics to enter without a permit. Those who voted for that Act bore no malice towards the Asiatics. There is no point in saying that they are British subjects. For there are some British subjects with white skins with whom I would have nothing to do. It is in self-defence therefore that we oppose their coming in. Our views in this matter are identical with those expressed by Mr. Chamberlain. The Asiatics who manage to live on a tenth of the money needed

[1] These despatches were published regularly in *Indian Opinion* as from its Johannesburg Correspondent.

by the whites are not justified in expecting to enter and settle here in large numbers. It is not proper that such men should compete with us. It is necessary therefore to take steps to prevent them from doing so. The present position is that, out of the five thousand licences issued at Johannesburg, ten per cent. have gone to the Asiatics—270 to the Indians and 255 to the Chinese. This should not happen. These shops should be closed down and the shopkeepers given compensation. The British Government withheld assent to the Asiatic Ordinance because they were not aware either of our real condition or of our feelings in the matter. I do not believe that the British Government intend to do us harm. They have not taken the side of the sufferers, and if they have withheld assent to the Ordinance for that reason, they will not hesitate to accord sanction to the Ordinance when the [new] parliament of the Transvaal meets and re-enacts it unanimously.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

312. ETHICAL RELIGION - II

CHAPTER II : IDEAL MORALITY

The current views of morality are not of a very high order. Some believe that morality is not something quite essential. Others think that there is no relation between religion and morality. But an examination of the world's religions shows that, without morality, religion cannot subsist. True morality covers religion for the most part. Anyone who observes the laws of morality for their own sake and not for any selfish end can be regarded as religious. There are men in Russia who dedicate their lives to the good of their country. Such men are truly moral. A man like Jeremy Bentham, who discovered many good principles for English legislation, tried very hard to spread education among the English and took a prominent part in improving the condition of prisoners, may be regarded as truly moral.

Besides, it is a rule of ideal morality that it is not enough to follow the trodden path. We ought to follow the path which we know to be true, whether it is familiar or unfamiliar to us. In other words, when we know a particular path to be the right one, we should set out on it without fear. We can progress only if we observe the laws of morality in this way. That is why true morality, true civilization and true progress are always to be found together.

If we examine our desires, we shall see that we do not wish for what we have already. We always value more that which we do not

have. But desires are of two kinds: one is the pursuit of mere self-interest. To attempt to fulfil this kind of desire is immoral. The other impels us constantly to improve ourselves and to do good to others. We should never become overweening with any amount of good that we may do. It is not for us to evaluate it, but rather should we have perpetual longing to become better and do more good. True morality consists in our effort to realize such longing.

If we have no home or family of our own, that is nothing to be ashamed of. But if we have a home and abuse it, or own a business and practise fraud, we stray from the path of morality. Morality consists in doing what we ought to do. We can prove the need of morality through a few illustrations. Destruction has been the lot of peoples or families in which the seeds of immorality, such as disunity and untruth, were found. To take an example from trade and business, we do not come across a single person who will say that truth should not be followed. The effect of justice and goodness is not felt from outside; these qualities inhere in us. Four hundred years ago, much injustice and untruth prevailed in Europe, so that people could not rest in peace even for a moment. The cause of this state of affairs was that people had no morality. If we take out the essence of all moral laws, we shall find that the attempt to do good to mankind is the highest morality. If we open the treasure-house of morality with this key, we shall find in it all the other principles.

At the end of each of these articles, we print select poems bearing on morality from Gujarati or Urdu poets in the hope that all our readers will benefit from them and will also commit them to memory. We begin with an extract[1] from Mr. Malbari's[2] book, *Adami Ane Teni Duniya.*

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 12-1-1907

313. AMIR'S NOBILITY[3]

His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan has shown his nobility within a few days of his arrival in India. This is shown by two Reuter messages received here. When he was inspecting a guard of honour in Delhi, he was offered an umbrella because it was raining. The Amir too preferred to get drenched and refused the umbrella because the soldiers were all exposed to the rain.

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] B. M. Malbari, Gujarati poet and social reformer. The title of the book is *Man and His World*.

[3] The immediate occasion for this article appears to have been "an otherwise appreciative character-sketch" of the Amir of Afghanistan by Angus Hamilton in the *Review of Reviews*, where the author described the Amir as "barbarous" and cruel.

The second cable says that the Muslims who wished to give a party in the Amir's honour had arranged for a hundred cows to be slaughtered on the occasion. The Amir suggested that this would probably offend the Hindu sentiment and advised the gentlemen that they might slaughter goats instead. They accepted his advice. It is said that the whole of India was agreeably surprised by the Amir's gesture. All the more so, as they did not expect His Majesty to show concern for others to the extent that he did.

These two incidents show that His Majesty the Amir has a considerate and sincere mind. On both the occasions he thought of the people['s wishes], thus setting an example for monarchs of the West to learn from. Though the news agencies cannot tell us of more instances of such thoughtful actions of his, one can easily imagine that Amir Habibullah has all the virtues that his name[1] connotes.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

314. DIFFICULTIES ABOUT LICENCES

In Ladysmith, Tongaat and other places, applications by [Indian] traders for licences have been rejected by the licensing officers and licences refused. At some places they have pointed to lack of cleanliness, or to the account books not being in order, while at others no reasons whatever have been given. Hence the traders have become anxious and wonder what will happen if they do not get their licences. When more precise information is available, next week [perhaps], we shall consider what is to be done.[2]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

315. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

That India is very backward in the education of women is a fact that cannot be denied. But by admitting this, we do not mean to suggest that Indian women fail in their duty. We believe that, as there are in the world few men of any class who can compete with the Indians considered from all points of view, so are there few women anywhere in the world who can compare with Indian women. But this

[1] Habibullah means "beloved of God".
[2] *Vide* "Natal Licensing Act", pp. 291-5.

position can no longer be kept up in the present squalid, low and helpless state of India. The modern age is such that it does not allow anyone to remain in the same position. Those who do not want to go forward, or do not do so, must fall behind. In so far as this is true, we can see that Indian men have deliberately kept their women backward. Those who pose as reformers as also other well-to-do Indians, whether Hindu or Muslim, Parsi or Christian, either treat their women as if they were playthings or use them as they fancy for self-indulgence, with the result that they themselves become weak and help only to produce weaklings. And in this way they lead irreligious lives and still say, 'It is God's will that prevails.' If this state of affairs continues, India will remain in its present abominable condition even if she were to secure all her rights from the British Government. In all countries where the people live a decent life, there is no disparity in the condition[1] of men and women. It is easy to see how much the real wealth of India would be attenuated, if one half of her human beings remained ignorant and existed only as playthings of the others.

These thoughts occurred to us while reading an address delivered to French girls by M. Lavis, a great servant of France. Only a few years ago French women were in the same plight in which Indian women are today. French society has now awakened and does not wish to let a half of its body remain inactive. We give below a short summary of M. Lavis's speech:

> Girls, there is much for you to learn. It is your function to use the needle and the scissors. You have to learn how to keep your home tidy. If there is order in the home, its influence will be felt without, and the village or town will reflect the state of the home. You will also have to learn to use money. You will be mothers one day, and your children's future will depend on you. It is not enough that you learn to read and write. You have to cultivate your minds too. For it is the mother who provides the real training for her child. Just as you ought to develop your minds, so must you inform yourself of what is happening around you, what countries there are in the world besides your own, what people there do, whether they are better or worse off than you. That is why you are taught history and geography. Just as there are schools for boys, there ought to be schools for girls also.

It is while thus addressing schoolgirls genially at a large Paris school that M. Lavis indicated in passing the duty of parents. We have a large number of girls and women among Indians in South Africa. It is our definite opinion that they should both have good education. Such education can be easily imparted; but only if we stop dallying

[1] The original has number (સંખ્યા) instead of condition (સ્થિતિ).

with our womenfolk and realize our duty. While imparting education, we have to bear in mind its aims. We would gain nothing if such education were designed for selfish ends. That would be only like changing one's dress.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

316. JAPAN'S GAME[1]

Every one—Indians in particular—has much to learn from Japan. There has been trouble in certain parts of America where Japanese boys are refused admission to schools. Reports in the English Press show that the dispute has not yet ended. The Americans do not wish to give up their stand. Japan, it appears, will not brook dishonour. Some persons believe that America and Japan will soon go to war over this. In that case, some believe that Japan will prove the stronger of the two. Much will depend on the British. At present there subsists amity between Japan and Britain. If the British intervene and help in maintaining peace, then alone, it seems, can bloodshed be averted.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

317. ETHICAL RELIGION - III

CHAPTER III : WHAT IS MORAL ACTION ?

When can it be said that a particular action is moral? In asking this question, the intention is not to contrast moral with immoral actions, but to consider many of our everyday actions against which nothing can be said from the conventional standpoint and which some regard as moral. Most of our actions are probably non-moral; they do not necessarily involve morality. For the most part we act according to the prevailing conventions. Such conventional behaviour is often necessary. If no such rules are observed, anarchy would be the result, and society—social intercourse—would come to an end. Still the mere observance of custom and usage cannot properly be called morality.

A moral act must be our own act: it must spring from our own will. If we act mechanically, there is no moral content in our act. Such action would be moral, if we think it proper to act like a machine and do so. For in doing so, we use our discrimination. We should bear in mind the distinction between acting mechanically and acting intentionally. It may be moral of a king to pardon a culprit. But the messenger bearing

[1] *Vide* "Japan and America", p. 279.

the order of pardon plays only a mechanical part in the king's moral act. But if the messenger were to bear the king's order, considering it to be his duty, his action would be a moral one. How can a man understand morality who does not use his own intelligence and power of thought, but lets himself be swept along like a log of wood by a current? Sometimes a man defies convention and acts on his own with a view to [doing] absolute good. Such a great hero was Wendell Phillips[1]. Addressing an assembly of people, he once said, "Till you learn to form your own opinions and express them, I do not care much what you think of me." Thus when we all care only for what our conscience says, then alone can we be regarded to have stepped on to the moral road. We shall not reach this stage, as long as we do not believe—and experience the belief—that God within us, the God of all, is the ever present witness to all our acts.

It is not enough that an act done by us is in itself good; it should have been done with the intention to do good. That is to say, whether an act is moral or otherwise depends upon the intention of the doer. Two men may have done exactly the same thing; but the act of one may be moral, and that of the other the contrary. Take, for instance, a man who out of great pity feeds the poor and another who does the same, but with the motive of winning prestige or with some such selfish end. Though the action is the same, the act of the one is moral and that of the other non-moral. The reader here ought to remember the distinction between the two words, non-moral and immoral. It may be that we do not always see good results flowing from a moral act. While thinking of morality, all that we need to see is that the act is good and is done with a good intention. The result of an action is not within our control. God alone is the giver of fruit. Historians have called Emperor Alexander "great". Wherever he went [in the course of his conquests,] he took the Greek language and Greek culture, arts and manners, and today we enjoy the benefits of Greek civilization. But the intention of Alexander behind all this was only conquest and renown. Who can therefore say that his actions were moral? It was all right that he was termed "great", but moral he cannot be called.

These reflections prove that it is not enough for a moral act to have been done with a good intention, but it should have been done without compulsion. There is no morality whatever in my act, if I rise early out of the fear that, if I am late for my office, I may lose my situation. Similarly there is no morality in my living a simple and unpretentious life if I have not the means to live otherwise. But plain, simple living would be moral if, though wealthy, I think of all the want and misery in the world about me—and feel that I ought to live a plain,

[1] (1811-84); American orator, social reformer and abolitionist

simple life and not one of ease and luxury. Likewise it is only selfish, and not moral, of an employer to sympathize with his employees or to pay them higher wages lest they leave him. It would be moral if the employer wished well of them and treated them kindly realizing how he owed his prosperity to them. This means that for an act to be moral it has to be free from fear and compulsion. When the peasants rose in revolt and with bloodshot eyes went to King Richard II of England demanding their rights, he granted them the rights under his own seal and signature. But when the danger was over, he forced them to surrender the letters. It would be a mistake for anyone to say that King Richard's first act was moral and the second immoral. For his first act was done only out of fear and had not an iota of morality about it.

Just as a moral action should be free from fear or compulsion so should there be no self-interest behind it. This is not to say that actions prompted by self-interest are all worthless, but only that to call them moral would detract from the [dignity of the] moral idea. That honesty cannot long endure which is practised in the belief that it is the best policy. As Shakespeare says, love born out of the profit motive is no love.[1]

Just as an action prompted by the motive of material gain here on earth is non-moral, so also another done for considerations of comfort and personal happiness in another world is non-moral. That action is moral which is done only for the sake of doing good. A great Christian, St. Francis Xavier, passionately prayed that his mind might always remain pure.[2] For him devotion to God was not for enjoying a higher seat after death. He prayed because it was man's duty to pray. The great Saint Theresa wished to have a torch in her right hand and a vessel of water in her left, so that with the one she might burn the glories of heaven and with the other extinguish the fires of hell, and men might learn to serve God from love alone—without fear of hell and without temptation of heavenly bliss. To preserve morality thus demands a brave man prepared to face even death. It is cowardice to be true to friends and to break faith with enemies. Those who do good out of fear and haltingly

1 "Love is not love,
When it is mingled with respects that stand
Aloof from the entire point."

2 "Then why, O blessed Jesus Christ,
Shall I not love thee well?
Not for the sake of winning heaven,
Or of escaping hell;
Not with the hope of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward—
But as thyself hast loved me,
O everlasting Lord!"

have no moral virtue. Henry Clay, known for his kindliness, sacrificed his convictions to his ambition. Daniel Webster[1], for all his great intellect and his sense of the heroic and the sublime, once sold his intellectual integrity for a price. By a single mean act he wiped out all his good deeds. This shows how difficult it is to judge the morality of a man's action because we cannot penetrate the depths of his mind. We have also the answer to the question raised at the outset in this chapter: what is a moral action? Incidentally, we also saw which kind of men could live up to that morality.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

318. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Cablegram to Amir

The Hamidia Islamic Society has sent a cable through Lord Selborne conveying greetings to His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan on the occasion of his visit to India. Lord Selborne's Secretary has informed Mr. Haji Ojer Ally that the cablegram has been forwarded.

Parliamentary Elections

The local Press is busy publishing reports of the election speeches of candidates for the proposed Transvaal parliament. These candidates have been making speeches at one place after another. Declaring their views on Indians, they all state that the parliament should re-enact the Ordinance that has met with the disapproval of the Imperial Government. Some say that every Indian trader should be paid compensation and sent back. Others say that they should be deported without the payment of compensation. None of them, however, understands the exact import of the Ordinance. This is the state of affairs in the Transvaal. Defeat seems probable for the Progressive Party, many of whose members are supporters of the mine-owners or big shareholders. The indications are that the Boers will defeat the others.

Sir Richard Solomon

Sir Richard Solomon has returned from England. After a brief stay with Lord Selborne, he has gone to Pretoria. When the Press representatives met him at Cape Town, he declined to express any opinion or to give any information. He intends to resign and enter

[1] (1782-1852); American statesman and lawyer; his "biographers insist that he was never personally dishonest". —*Encyclopædia Britannica*

[2] Here follows a poem from *Kavyadohan*, an anthology of Gujarati verse, but it is not reproduced in this volume.

parliament. People are eager to know which party he will join. Some persons are displeased because he has not expressed his opinion, and they accuse him of playing a double game.

PERMITS FOR BOYS

Indian children under sixteen whose parents are in the Transvaal can enter without a permit. But two questions have now been raised in the matter. First, how can these boys, on attaining majority, continue to remain without a permit? Secondly, how can they re-enter on return from a visit to their native country? The Registrar refuses to help and demands to know why a permit should be sought after the Supreme Court has ruled that no permit is necessary for children. It appears the Registrar is only venting his anger. It is true that minor children need no permit. But that does not mean that a permit should not be issued to them as a safeguard when they become majors or go out of the Transvaal. Now there seems to be no remedy other than a petition. For the law does not oblige the Permit Office to issue such permits. The law only says that children need no permits and that they will be protected against harassment from any quarter.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

319. *DUTY OF EDUCATED INDIANS*

While commenting on the report of the Superintendent of Education in Natal,[1] we said that we would consider later how educated Indians could help without much trouble to themselves. We do so now.

Among Indians, grown-ups as well as children have much to learn. During the day, most of them are too busy to learn anything. Similarly, educated Indians also are busy at that time. In all big cities of the world, there are large numbers of night schools. We take it that there are some truly educated young Indians who are patriotic and anxious to pass on to others the education that they have themselves had. Such persons can persuade all grown-ups and boys, with whom they come in contact, to learn; and if three or four persons agree to do so, they can decide to gather at one place. Even if only one person is willing, it should still be possible for them to go to his place to teach him.

As things stand, those who wish to learn are as few as those prepared to teach. For anyone who is eager to teach, it is not therefore enough just to be ready to do so. It is also necessary to inspire others with the urge to learn.

[1] *Vide* "Report of Superintendent of Education", pp. 267-8.

Some may, we are well aware, think that all this sounds nice on paper, but that it is not so easy to work out. We only wish to say in reply that what we write here is addressed to courageous patriots and that it is moreover based on experience and so ought not to be dismissed as impracticable.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-1-1907

320. A MARE'S NEST

The Natal Advertiser has published what purports to be a report of an Indian meeting held in order to consider certain complaints against the Natal Indian Congress and to form a new body. We notice, from our Johannesburg correspondence, that the contents of the precious report were telegraphed to the Johannesburg *Star, in extenso*. It evidently appears as if the wish was father to the thought, and that some "good-natured" people would rather see a quarrel between different sections of the Indian community. We may, therefore, assure these friends that such a quarrel is not possible, because there can be no backbone to it. It is worthy of note that it is not stated in the inspired report where the meeting took place, who convened it, who attended it, and when it was held.

We have, however, taken the trouble to inquire about it, and we find that some such meeting did take place at a private house. But the whole aspect is changed when the facts are known. The meeting discussed the question of founding a political institution apart from the Congress, but little encouragement was given by the speakers to this proposal, and the weight of opinion did not favour it. We think the following letter, addressed to *The Advertiser* by Mr. V. Lawrence, Chairman of the meeting, places the matter in its true light:

> Sir, In your second edition of the 17th instant, there appears on page 5 what purports to be the report of a meeting of the Colonial Hindus and Christianized Indians that took place on Tuesday night last, headed "Natal Hindus, Dissatisfaction with the Natal Indian Congress, Representation Desired". As chairman of that meeting, I must most emphatically refute many of the statements therein. The object of that meeting was to form a very influential and representative committee to approach the Natal Indian Congress, which is recognized by the Imperial and Colonial Governments as the representative institution of the Indian community in Natal, to make it a more representative body than it is at present. It is not true that it was pointed out during the discussion that the association of the Colonial Indian and Hindu community with the Mohammadan merchants was derogatory to the good opinion of the European section of the country in regard to the former. It was not only the idea, but the first and foremost object of the

meeting was, and all the discussion that night was directed to achieve that object, to unite with, and not to dissociate from, the Natal Indian Congress, to obtain redress for the disabilities that are and may be heaped upon the Indian community.

It is not correct that minor matters were then discussed and the meeting broke up without any definite decision being come to. The meeting dispersed after the election of a thoroughly representative committee of all classes of the Indian community to approach the Natal Indian Congress, and I was deputed to interview the President and the Secretaries of the Congress, and ascertain from them what day, time and place will suit the Congress to hear the views of the committee. We have neither desire nor intention to work against either the Congress or the Europeans, but to unite with the Congress in creating a better understanding between the European and Indian communities.

We are glad to notice that the prominent Hindus of Durban met together on Sunday for the purpose of repudiating the statements made in the newspaper report. Mr. Sanghavi, the Chairman of this meeting, said that perfect amity and concord existed between the different sections of the Indian community, irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

If, however, there are any young Indians, besides the person that concocted *The Advertiser* report, who feel aggrieved at not being able to figure prominently in the work of the Congress, we strongly advise them to steer clear of any movement that would bring about discord between the different sections of the community.

It may be well to examine the origin of the Natal Indian Congress[1]. It was established when a general attack on the Indian community on the part of some European colonists was commenced. The trustees of the Congress include two Hindus, one of them a Tamil gentleman, and on the Congress membership are scores of Hindus and Christians belonging to different presidencies of India. Its objects are all-embracing, and if the attention paid to the Tamil community is to count for anything, it is but simple truth to state that, during the first few years of the Congress existence, it was largely occupied with matters more especially concerning that community. It may also be not amiss to say, in passing, that it was under the aegis of the Congress that the Natal Indian Educational Association was able to thrive and flourish. The Congress Hall was placed free of charge at its disposal. The Congress funds, again, enabled the Diamond Jubilee Library[2], opened chiefly in the interests of Colonial Indians, to be established. If the Indian traders today loom large at the Congress meetings, it is because they are the most in danger; and if they were neglected or allowed themselves to be neglected, who will suffer? Certainly the whole Indian community; for throughout the

[1] Founded in 1894; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 130-5, 231-9 and Vol. III, pp. 96-110.

[2] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 106.

world it is the commercial class that supplies the sinews of war and even common sense to the community or nation to which it belongs.

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

321. WILL THERE BE DISSENSION AMONG INDIANS?

The Advertiser has published a report under the heading "The Hindus of Natal" which will perhaps cause concern among some Indians. However, we do not think, there is any need to be agitated. We print a summary of that report elsewhere. The report does not say who attended the meeting or where it was held. Also, we do not find what resolution was passed at the meeting. There is no doubt that this is the work of some disgruntled Indians. It is obvious enough that they will receive help from the Europeans. We have with us a circular notice of that meeting, signed by Messrs Bryan Gabriel, V. Lawrence and A. D. Pillay; and the meeting was held at Mr. A. D. Pillay's house on the 15th at eight o'clock. No action by us is called for, since there is no reason why any changes should be made in the constitution of the Congress. Moreover, this meeting was merely meant to be a threat, and there can be no question of yielding to such threats and making changes. However, it is the duty of the Congress leaders to adhere to the Congress constitution and to all its rules. Congress members who have not paid their subscription should be made to do so, and annual reports published as before. As for the meeting, it is not necessary to blame either those who convened or those who attended it. It can be seen from [the report of] the meeting of the Hindu Reforms Council held in the Hall and from Mr. V. Lawrence's letter[1] that the report published in *The Advertiser* is quite false. The only thing for thoughtful people and the Congress to do is their duty, and then they should not entertain any fear. If this is done, there will be no dissension.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

322. NATAL LICENSING ACT

At the beginning of each year Indians in Natal go through a period of acute anxiety. All traders, big and small, remain in suspense for they are not sure whether they will get [renewed] licences. This time, it seems, preparations are afoot for greater harassment [of Indians].

LADYSMITH

In Ladysmith notice has been given to all traders that they will not get their licences next year. Some have been refused licences even

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

for the current year for the alleged reason that they do not know how to keep accounts in English.

TONGAAT

In Tongaat licences have been refused to many Indians, the reasons given being lack of cleanliness and the unsatisfactory condition of accounts.

ELSEWHERE

Meetings are held all over the Colony where Europeans pass resolutions to the effect that no licences should be issued to Indian traders. There is no immediate danger, as a result of these resolutions, of licences being withheld in all places. There is no doubt, however, that, if steps are not taken from now on, it will be too late afterwards.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Let us consider what measures can be taken. It is quite necessary that those who have been refused licences should file appeals with the Licensing Board. Such appeals cost very little. While preferring an appeal, it is necessary to produce evidence regarding account books, the condition of shops, etc. The reason for filing an appeal is that it is the only legal remedy. It must be resorted to before other steps are taken. Moreover, by filing the appeals, it will be possible to prove that the licensing officer and the Licensing Board are a single [authority], not two different ones. Along with the appeal an application should also be made to the local Government, that is, to the Colonial Secretary.

THE CONGRESS

In this matter, it is necessary to know the help that can be expected from the Congress and the expenditure that should be borne by each individual. The Congress will be able to write to the Government. But where it is necessary to file appeals, the residents of the respective towns and places will have to bear the cost.

SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

As far as we know the Congress has sent a cable to the South Africa British Indian Committee asking it to take the necessary measures in the matter of licences. It will be the duty of the Congress to send additional information to the Committee as soon as the results of the appeals are known. The Committee will probably be able to work better if it is posted with full information. We should also add that, if most people followed the same procedure or acted through the same lawyer, the results would be better. Whether or not this is possible, it is essential that people should inform the Secretaries of the Congress immediately. But even if the people do not send the information, the Congress should not stand still. The Secretaries or other persons on

behalf of the Congress should go from place to place collecting information. We should remember that the Europeans work united throughout the Colony and we should act in the same fashion.

Fear

In this struggle we should have no fear. The Indian who concerns himself only with his own licence unmindful of what happens to others will be thought unmanly and a coward. It will be a great mistake for anyone to obtain a licence by flattery. It must be clearly understood that, if harm is caused by putting one trader against another, the jealous whites will not fail to exploit the situation. Such steps are outside the scope [of our objectives] and in the nature of underhand dealings.

Measures concerning Ourselves

Let us now consider measures in so far as they concern us. In this fight we must know for certain whether or not we are at fault. He who cannot see his own fault is doomed. [On the other hand,] that we may suffer even when there is nothing that can be said against us is contrary to experience. It is our duty to offer resistance by legitimate, constitutional means; it is also our duty to think of our own faults. In relation to the law, we are at fault on three points: (1) lack of cleanliness; (2) the bad state of account books; and (3) the location of residence and shop in the same premises.

Lack of Cleanliness

In regard to lack of cleanliness, we must confess that, though we are not as bad as Europeans make us out to be, the charge is by and large justified. The phrase "lack of cleanliness" covers both the general appearance of the house and one's personal appearance.

Condition of Shop

Very often the shop is found to be in a slovenly condition. The backyard is full of slush and dirt. Even the interior of the shop is sometimes dirty, and we are content that our shops should look like hovels. All this must change. It will be wise to give up all hope of carrying on trade anyhow, as we do in India, without giving much thought to the condition of the shop. If we cannot maintain our shop in as good a condition as the Europeans of better standing do, we do not deserve to be in trade. When they see our huts adjoining their well-kept shops, and see the same things being sold in our huts as in theirs, they are bound to feel a grudge against us. Let us not answer by asking if some Europeans do not also keep their shops untidy. No doubt they do, but we must never forget that, if we follow their example, we shall lose our case. We should not be surprised if they even expect more from us, for, after all, we belong to a different community.

Personal Appearance

We should be particular about our personal appearance also. A shopkeeper in rags cannot hold his own in Natal or South Africa. If you become a trader, you must dress according to local custom. It is not necessary to dress in the western fashion. But the dress, if in the Indian style, must be clean and decent. We would warn Indians that it is not proper to wear a *dhoti* in this country. In Tongaat shopkeepers and their assistants are seen cleaning their teeth and washing their faces in the street outside their shops, just as they do in our own country. It is sheer stupidity to believe that all these things will not prejudice the Europeans. When we make our appearance outside the house, we should always be fully dressed. [Among us] little attention is given to the condition of the turban or cap and the shoes. We assume that, if the head-dress is dirty, it is quite in keeping with custom. As a rule we do not polish our shoes, and some do not wear socks at all, or if at all they do, the socks are in tatters and double down over the shoes. All this must change. There is one key to all this. Personal activities, such as eating and drinking, washing and toilet, should be in private. That is, we should always be in a presentable condition while we are out. Similarly, we cannot attend a court or go out in public, chewing tobacco, betel-leaves or nuts.

Account Books

With regard to account books, complaints have appeared in newspapers that the books kept in English are unmethodical and disordered, or that they are false and are intended merely for show. We have to admit to our shame that the charge has some substance in it. Some simple-minded merchants go to the length of getting the books written up at the end of the year. How long can we go on with such patchwork? Indeed, we should wake up. It is not very difficult to keep regular books of account in English. The main reasons for not doing so would appear to be laziness and greed. We should overcome these weaknesses and start the practice of keeping regular accounts.

Shop and Residence in Same Premises

Many traders set up shop in residential premises. Europeans too do it. In the villages, one cannot help doing this to some extent. Wherever possible, the shop and the place of residence should be separate and at some distance from each other. Even if they have to be near each other, they must be separate. This should not be done merely by putting up a nominal curtain with the intention of deceiving. They should be really kept distinct from each other.

PROMISE

If these three things are attended to, we can promise that the condition of the Indian traders in Natal will improve in a short time. Even if they do not change the law, it will not come into effect. One might ask what should be done to prevent shops being closed and locked up before all these wise precepts could be attended to. It is a pertinent question.

FOR THE BRAVE ONLY

Natal and South Africa are for brave Indians only. It is being proved every day that the coward and the miser are doomed. The answer, then, to the question is this: those merchants whose account books are in order, whose shops are clean and decent, whose dress is becoming and whose place of residence is clean and separate from the shop, will continue to run their shops even if they do not get the licence and lose the appeal. It will be possible to have their cases fought out in England and secure a favourable decision. It is certain that men of courage will be able to do all this.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

323. "THE NATAL MERCURY" AND INDIAN TRADERS

The Natal Mercury has come out in favour of Indian traders. The gist of its argument is that those who oppose Indian traders are hypocrites. This means that, though ostensibly they are opposed to Indians, they do in fact have dealings with us. *The Mercury* also believes that, if the Europeans are really opposed to the Indians, the latter cannot hold out for long. For, says *The Mercury*, it is only because Europeans sell land to Indians that the latter can buy it, and that it is because Europeans lend them money and buy goods from them that Indians can carry on trade. There is much force in this argument. It was on the basis of this that the Deputation to England argued with Lord Elgin and Mr. Morley that, if the Europeans were really opposed to the Indians, they could boycott the latter. We advise everyone to support the talk of boycott. It will probably bring about a breakdown of law. There are many things which Indians have to fight against, and if the laws made against us break down, we shall be able to cope with other problems on one condition, namely, that we overcome our drawbacks. On that point, we have written at some length already, which readers may please look up.

No one should be afraid of a boycott, for it is such that, if the Europeans start it, we cannot save ourselves in spite of any laws that

may be made to protect us. The best thing for us will be to face it out. In Boksburg Europeans have no dealings with us, with the result that no Indian can go there though, under the law, every one has a right to do so. Where the Indian population is well settled, a boycott cannot be effective if we acquit ourselves well.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

324. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE TRANSVAAL

Lord Selborne has been re-appointed Governor of the Transvaal under the new Constitution. The post of Lieutenant-Governor has now been abolished altogether. Those desiring to contest the election to the new parliament will file their nomination papers with the respective magistrates on February 9. People will go to the polls on the 20th.

WHAT IS RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

It will not be out of place here to explain the significance of the change now introduced in the Transvaal. In the British Empire, there are three types of territories outside Great Britain, viz., self-governing colonies, Crown colonies and dependencies. India is among the dependencies. Crown colonies include Mauritius, Ceylon, etc. Natal, Canada, Australia, etc., are among the self-governing colonies.

In a Crown colony there is generally a legislative body either elected by the people or nominated by the government. Officials are appointed only by the government, the legislature has no control over them and they are in no way responsible to the members. All laws are regarded as having been enacted by the government.

Self-government is said to have been conferred on a people when power is transferred to it and it acquires the authority to appoint officers, levy taxes and enact laws. The British control over self-governing colonies is very slight. Their legislation requires Royal assent, but if the Crown should refuse the assent, there is always the probability that these countries may declare their independence. Many experienced politicians believe that self-governing colonies will become independent in a few years. Till recently the Transvaal was a Crown Colony, but it has now become self-governing. Under it the members elected by the people can question the doings of the officials; it is therefore also called responsible government.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The election campaign has gone on for some weeks now. At the meetings sometimes they almost come to blows. Voters at times ask such absurd questions that one wonders whether such an election should be considered a sign of civilization or barbarism. Mr. Hosken is a rich, noble and well-known gentleman of this place. His opponent can in no way be considered his equal. The electors do not seem to have considered whether Mr. Hosken is a man likely to do good or harm to the public. They asked him the question where he obtained his provisions from. One need not be surprised if the fate of Hosken's election should hang on the answer to this question. The electors are in such a benighted condition. This is only an example of the questions asked. One can cite many more instances.

LAW RELATING TO NON-WHITES IN ORANGE RIVER COLONY

A Bill, intended to protect the rights of the Coloured people through a white, appointed to represent them, has been published in the Orange River Colony *Government Gazette*. Many municipalities have, according to Press telegrams received here, opposed the measure. The right which the Government proposed to grant was without any substance. But the white members of the brave municipalities of the Orange River Colony have opposed it as they were afraid that the Coloured people were being accorded a respectable status by the grant of this right, such as it was. It is very disturbing to think what the plight of the Coloured people would be under such men.

DR. PEREIRA'S SON

Dr. Pereira, who is working here as a private interpreter, has a son studying in England. He has passed his school examination and got a certificate for being the best behaved among the students. He will shortly proceed to Scotland to study medicine.

SIR RICHARD SOLOMON

On Monday Sir Richard Solomon made a speech at a crowded meeting in the Pretoria Town Hall. I cannot give a full account of that speech this time, but intend doing so next week.[1] He has now spoken out his mind. Regarding the Asiatic Ordinance, he gave out that the Imperial Government would give its assent to the Ordinance if it was passed by the new parliament. The only inference to be drawn from this is that the Ordinance will certainly be passed in six or seven months. In that case it is probable that Indians will have yet to go and "enjoy life in the prison-palace". However, I shall discuss this point further next week.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 309-12.

INTERNAL FEUD[1]

A long telegram from the Durban correspondent of *The Star* states that a split has occurred in the local Indian community. It adds that the Congress is regarded as belonging to the Muslims, and that the Colonial-born or civilized Indians, being displeased, are thinking of founding a separate body. It is suspected that there must be some white person behind all this. From the wording of the telegram it appears that the writer is anxious to create dissensions among Indians. People in Durban may know more about this.

ASIATIC ORDINANCE

It is clear from the local newspapers that the Asiatic Ordinance of the Transvaal is not dead, but is only in a state of coma. At a meeting in Krugersdorp it was suggested that the matter should be taken up again in the Municipal Association; and as soon as the new government is formed, the Municipal Association should pass and forward a resolution [to demand] that the selfsame Ordinance be passed by the new legislature, and that Lord Elgin should give his assent to it. Such discussions have been going on not only at Krugersdorp, but throughout the Transvaal. The Indian community therefore needs to remain alert. People seem to have gone to sleep, elated by the rejection of the Ordinance; we should be wide awake.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

325. ETHICAL RELIGION-IV

CHAPTER IV: IS THERE A HIGHER LAW ?

We constantly pronounce judgments upon the value of actions. Some actions satisfy us and others do not. Whether a certain act is good or bad does not depend upon whether it is beneficial or harmful to us. In judging it, we adopt quite a different standard. We have in our minds certain ideas and on the basis of those we judge the acts of others. Whether any wrong done by one to another affects us or not, we do feel it to be wrong. Sometimes, we have a trace of sympathy for the wrong-doer; but despite that sympathy, we feel no hesitation at all in pronouncing his act to be wrong. It may be that at times our judgment is found to be mistaken. We cannot always fathom a man's motives, and may thus judge him wrongly. Nevertheless, we find no difficulty in judging an act in so far as the intention is known. Even if our personal interests

[1] *Vide* "A Mare's Nest", pp. 289-91 and "Will There Be Dissension among Indians?" p. 291.

are sometimes served by wrong actions, we do feel inwardly that they are wrong.

Thus it is established that the rightness or wrongness of an act does not depend upon a man's self-interest. Nor does it depend upon his wishes. There is a difference between morality and sympathy. Out of sympathy for the child we wish to give it a certain thing, but if the thing is harmful to the child, we hold it immoral to give it. It is doubtless good to show sympathy but, unrestricted by moral considerations, it turns into poison.

We see also that moral laws are immutable. Opinions change, but not morality. When our eyes are open, we see the sun; when they are closed, it is not seen. The change here has been in our sense of sight, not in the fact of the sun's existence. The same holds true of moral laws. It is probable that in a state of ignorance we do not know what is moral; but once the eye of knowledge is opened, there is no difficulty in knowing it. Men rarely care to see single-mindedly the right or wrong of things; often prompted by personal considerations, they mistakenly describe the immoral as moral. The time is yet to come when men, freeing themselves from self-regarding considerations, will concentrate their attention on the ideas of morality alone. Moral culture is still in its mere infancy; it is as science was before the birth of a Bacon or a Darwin. Men were eager to know what the truth was. Instead of inquiring into morality, they have been hitherto engaged in discovering laws of nature—the laws of the earth's motion, etc. Where do we find the disinterested student of morality, patient and painstaking, who, setting aside his earlier superstitious notions, devotes his life to seeking only the ideal good? When men become as eager to explore the world of moral ideas as they are now to explore the realms of nature, we shall be able to bring together the various conceptions of morality. It is unlikely that, on ideas of morality, there will be the same divergence of opinion as exists among men on matters of science. However, we may not for a time arrive at unanimity of opinion regarding moral laws. This does not, however, mean that it is impossible to distinguish between right and wrong.

We thus see that, independent of and apart from men's wishes and opinions, there is something like a moral standard which we may call moral law. If there are laws of the state, why may not there be a moral law too? It does not matter if that law is not committed to writing by man, and indeed it need not be. If we grant or hold that the moral law exists, it is incumbent on us to obey it, just as we ought to obey the law of the state. A moral law is distinct from and better than the laws of the state or those of business. One may ask, "How does it matter if I do not obey the laws of business and remain poor? Or if I disobey the laws of the state and incur the ruler's displeasure?" But it

will never do—either for me or anyone else—to say, "What does it matter whether I tell a lie or tell the truth?"

There is thus a great difference between moral laws and temporal laws. For morality dwells in our hearts. Even a man practising immorality would admit that he has been immoral. A wrong can never become right. Even where a people is vile, though men may not observe the moral law, they would make a pretence of doing so; they thus are obliged to admit that moral laws ought to be observed. Such is the greatness of morality. It cares not for custom nor for public opinion. To a moral man, public opinion or custom is binding only so long as it is in harmony with the moral law.

Where does this moral law come from? This law is not laid down by the state, for different laws are found in different states. Many men were opposed to the morality which Socrates observed in his day. Even so the world admits that the morality he observed has remained, and shall remain, morality for ever. Robert Browning says, 'If ever Satan proclaimed the law of hatred and untruth in the world, even then justice, goodness and truth will continue to be divine.'[1] One may conclude from this that the moral law is supreme and divine.

Such a law no people or individual can violate to the end of time. As has been said, even as the dangerous storm ultimately passes, immoral men must meet their destruction.[2]

No sooner did the cup of sin in Assyria and Babylon become full than it broke. When Rome trod the path of immorality, none of her great men could save her. The ancient Greeks were an accomplished people, still all their art and philosophy could not continue in their immorality for long. The French Revolution was but an insurrection against immorality. The same was the case with America. The good Wendell Phillips used to say that immorality even if enthroned will not endure. This mysterious moral law brings prosperity to the man who observes it: it sustains the family that obeys it, and the community which lives by it ever flourishes. Freedom, peace and happiness are the lot of the nation that lets itself be ruled by this highest law.[3]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-1-1907

[1] ...justice, good, and truth were still
Divine, if, by some demon's will,
Hatred and wrong had been proclaimed
Law through the worlds, and right misnamed.

Christmas Eve, XVII.

[2] As the whirlwind passeth, so is the wicked no more; but the righteous is an everlasting foundation. *Proverbs*, X.25.

[3] Here follows a poem from *Kavyadohan*.

326. HOW TO BUILD A NATION

[Before *January 28, 1907*]

Mrs. Besant has written an article for the December issue of *Indian Review* on "Nation-building"—or as we have put it, "How to Build a Nation"—which deserves to be read carefully by all. All the communities in India are now bent on making India a single nation and improving her condition. Motivated by this urge, well-known people in the country have put forward their ideas on the subject. Mrs. Besant is President of the Theosophical Society and spends six months in India each year and the other six in England. She enjoys the reputation of being one of the world's great orators and most of her writings, too, are very instructive. As this article by her is serious and thought provoking, we here publish a translation of it.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

327. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
January 28, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand.

As a lot of material has been held over, Mrs. Besant's article[2] may well be postponed to next week. Whenever you print it, see that all of it appears in one issue. It may conveniently be held over for two weeks.

It would be better if the article on the Amir[3] were concluded in this issue.

The suggestion about decreasing your burden is quite justified. Do keep Mothoo. You would be quite right if you had already decided to keep him before this reached you.

This is the time for you to give your fullest attention to realizing the dues and to the account books. We must on any account satisfy our customers. If they do not get satisfaction just when they have begun to be interested in what we write, we shan't be able to keep them on the register. It is [however] as necessary to collect the dues as it is

[1] Here follows a translation of Mrs. Besant's article.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* "Amir's Nobility", pp. 281-2.

to satisfy our customers. You must therefore give full attention to the books. I realize this quite well.

You will be justified therefore if you have decided to keep Thakkar by offering him an increment. He can be cured of his bad habit if you keep an eye on him.

When will the balance-sheet be ready?

I am returning Sheth Haji Habib's advertisement about the mosque. I have written to him. I hope you remember that £6.10.0 have already been collected from him. A credit note for the amount has been sent to him.

I am sending you some more material today. Do not hold over anything that is topical.

Even though the expenditure on your visit to England is ultimately to be borne by the Press, I know that the money will have to be found by me now, and this is how I look at the matter.

The Press is growing day by day. Its work will increase as the purity of our objectives is progressively recognized and increases. If this purity is accompanied by skill and ability, we shall be able to do a great deal, provided of course that we do not succumb to greed and self-interest. For this we should lay down that no one among us could draw a monthly allowance of more than £10 or up to any other limit we decide upon. Whatever is left over after these charges have been met, we should use to promote education, health, etc. In order to do this we should ourselves be better educated. I have therefore decided to send a person to England, whom I consider the most steadfast of all. He should go there with the firm resolve that he would not make a single pie for himself from the education he receives, but would pass on all the benefit [of that education] to the Press and would accept and live on what the Press gave him. You appear to me to be the only Indian who has attained to this degree of fitness. I believe you understand the significance of the whole thing and you seem to be the only person who can be depended upon to carry forward the heritage of my thoughts and words. Messrs Polak and West know and understand a lot. There are things which they understand and you don't. However, it seems on the whole that you understand more than they do. Our ultimate capital is not the money we have, but our courage, our faith, our truthfulness and our ability. If therefore you go to England, your intellect remains unspoiled and you return with your physical and mental powers strengthened, our capital will have appreciated to that extent. I cannot write more as people have again begun to drop in.

[*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4690

328. MADANJIT'S ENTHUSIASM

[Before *January 29, 1907*]

Mr. Madanjit has started, in Rangoon, an English journal entitled *United Burma* of which we have received the first few issues. His aim in starting the paper is to bring together the Burmese people and seek the redress of their grievances from the Government. Through the paper he also hopes to persuade the Burmese people to take part in the activities of the [Indian National] Congress. This is no doubt a great venture by Mr. Madanjit, to which every one will wish godspeed. From the large number of advertisements which it has been able to secure from Englishmen as well as Indians, it would seem that the paper enjoys a wide patronage. The address of the paper is No. 29, 27th Street, Rangoon; the annual subscription is Rs. 6; the price of a copy is three annas. Mr. Madanjit himself is Editor.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

329. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
January 29, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Please read what I have written to West about Hindi and Tamil [columns].

I note what you say about Miss West. Do what you think right. It is not an example to be copied.

I find that the office here has run into a great loss. I do not therefore get a moment's respite.

Chi. Kalyandas[1] must be at Newcastle today. He has suddenly developed some pain in his hand. However he intends to complete his work. I have wired to him to put off his visit to the other places. I have not yet had any reply. Please take good care of his hand.

I have already written to you about dispensing with Medh's services.

I am sending today the rest of the article on the Amir (pages 44-73). It is in continuation of the previous instalment. Give it a suitable heading.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 4692

[1] Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta

330. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
January 29, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Yours to hand.

I enclose herewith Desai's letter. If Mothoo has not yet come and if you know Nathalal and consider him suitable for our work, write to Desai. I have written to him asking him to write to you.

We must have one person well trained before you leave. It would be nice if this could be Maganlal[1].

I have thought of the Bar for you. If you have to say anything about it or suggest something else, do write to me. There is likely to be one difficulty in your going [to study] for the Bar, namely, it will entail an additional expenditure of £150. If we decide that you should study law, you can take the LL.B. degree of London University. Please let me know what you think about all these things.

I received the Pretoria list yesterday and have sent it to Gaurishankar.

I have already written to you to postpone printing Mrs. Besant's article[2]. It would not matter if it appeared next week.

I have written earlier about Madanjit too.[3]

I send herewith the letter about drinking after making corrections; you may print it[4].

I am trying to find Urdu poems bearing on Ethical Religion. I have not yet come across any. I hope to send one next week. The first poem you have sent to me does not strike me as appropriate. We want to give poems which do not start a controversy.

I shall be able to send a reply if the letter about the Colonial Secretary is sent to me. Please send the Act along with the letter.

I am sending a demand draft for £35 in favour of you and West.

It is good that Anandlal[5] has got started.

I have already written all I had to say about Thakkar. If he goes away, I believe we shall be losing a very good hand. On the whole, I think he is all right; and we shall not be able to get another man as well

[1] Addressee's brother

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", p. 301.

[3] *Vide* "Madanjit's Enthusiasm", p. 303.

[4] *Vide Indian Opinion*, 2-1-1907.

[5] A nephew of Gandhiji

informed in the near future. However, you may let him go if he does not stay even on £5.

Please let me know where Maganlal bought the type in Bombay, and in what condition it was received here. Also let me know if there would be any objection to our getting the type this time from the Gujarati Foundry.

I came to know from Harilal yesterday that the money had not been paid for the tea we bought from Sanghavi nor was the bill credited to him in our books. Please tell me what you know about this, and pay up the bill for the tea if it has not been already paid.

I have sent Manilal the Sanskrit book he wanted. What does he propose to do with it? Please let me know how he is getting on with his studies, how he is working in the Press, etc.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 4691

331. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
January 31, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter and the list. We have to publish, on Mr. Adamji Miankhan's[1] departure, his photograph as a supplement, and we have also to give a brief account of his life. The account I shall send from here. I have asked Mr. Adamji to let us have his photograph. He will send one on to you there. As soon as it arrives, you should have the block made, so that we can make use of it when necessary and may not be rushed.

I should like you to let me have the total of complimentary copies and the total of exchanges we send, dividing [them] into two heads, complimentary copies and exchanges for Natal, and [those for places] outside Natal. The receipts for January are not quite bad. In the expenditure for the month, you have not shown the wages at all. Has the balance-sheet been started?

Who is to form the riddles, before we can think of prizes? Personally, I am of the opinion that we are not yet ripe for branching out in this direction.

What prescription has Dr. Nanji given for Kalyandas, and what reason does he assign for the sores on the hands?

[1] Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress during Gandhiji's absence from South Africa. He left for India in February, 1907. *Vide* "Adamji Miankhan", pp. 314-5.

I have duly received your list of advertisers for Johannesburg. They have all consented to pay. Chhotabhai has already paid; you must have received the Credit Note. Please inquire and let me know whether you have or not. The others will pay. You may, therefore, continue the advertisements.

It would be very good if you could collect the £3 from Mrs. Jamieson. I feel that I should refund the £3 to Vyas. Henceforth, you should not give notes of introduction to men in whom you cannot put a reasonable trust.

Do not overwork yourself. What about Mothoo? I have not yet received the *Parsee Chronicle* or the *Patrika*. The names of subscribers against which you have put a cross should be retained until you hear further from me. The others may be struck off. I will, however, inquire.

I am glad you had the meeting on Sunday. How did the ladies take it? What did they understand? What pains were taken to explain to them what was read? Who gave the explanations? Where was the meeting held? It is a step absolutely in the right direction, and should be continued at any cost.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 4693

332. INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL

We invite the attention of every Indian to the speech by Sir Richard Solomon translated into Gujarati by our Johannesburg correspondent.[1] When Sir Richard makes a public speech, we should know that it is not for electioneering purposes only. He has just returned from England. He has met officials in the Colonial Office in London, and he is a favourite of theirs. Through him, the Liberal Government desires to unite the Dutch and the English. It is necessary, therefore, to look upon whatever Sir Richard says at this juncture as important.

Sir Richard says that the Asiatic Ordinance will have to be re-introduced in the new parliament, and that the Imperial Government will not reject an act passed by it.

Not only would Sir Richard have such a law passed, but, according to his line of thinking, no new Indian should be allowed to enter and settle in the Transvaal. Sir Richard does not therefore like the Natal or the Cape immigration laws. He would have the Orange River Colony law[2] enacted in the Transvaal.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 309-12.

[2] Under the law an Indian could enter the Orange River Colony "only as a domestic servant".

This means that, if the reins of government were to pass into the hands of Sir Richard, Indians would face very hard times indeed.

What are we to do in this situation? We have only one answer. We have hailed the refusal of assent to the Asiatic Ordinance as a victory. But true victory will come only when we show our strength. It is certain that the Asiatic Ordinance will be re-introduced. When that happens, there should be only one thought in the mind of every Indian: never to accept such a law. And, if it is enforced, he will rather go to gaol than carry a pass like a Kaffir. True victory will be won only when the entire Indian community courageously marches to the gaol—when the time comes—and stays there as if it were a palace.

Many things have to be done before this can come to pass. We must show that Indians without permits do not enter the Transvaal in large numbers. If any of them try to enter, they must be stopped from doing so. And the whites must be made to realize that their policy of repression is not at all called for.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

333. THEODORE MORISON

Mr. Theodore Morison, who is a member of the South Africa British Indian Committee, has now been appointed a member of the India Council by Mr. Morley. Mr. Morison was the Principal of the Aligarh College. On some matters he holds liberal views. He comes of a noble family This appointment made by Mr. Morley is a novel step. So far, all the members of this Council have invariably been Anglo-Indian officials, but Mr. Morison is not from that class. This must therefore be regarded as a major change made by Mr. Morley in the set-up of the Council.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

334. SIR JAMES FERGUSSON

A cable has been received saying that Sir James Fergusson, a former Governor of Bombay, was killed, having been buried alive in an earthquake in Jamaica. He greatly encouraged education in the Bombay Presidency. Before leaving for Jamaica he had accepted the Presidentship of the South Africa British Indian Committee. He was buried in Kingston with great honours.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

335. NAUSEA

Generally speaking, every person has an aversion to something or the other. To some the sight of blood or pus is nauseating, to others the smell of kerosene. Similarly, an Englishman is averse to certain things. Of these aversions some are desirable, but others are carried too far. None the less, it is a fact that people do have these aversions. Trivial as some of these may seem, we should know what they are. It often happens that, starting from trifles, people go on to big quarrels. Because of trifles the whites sometimes cause havoc. We know of an instance in which a white man kicked an Indian simply because the latter happened to break wind. Once Mr. Miller, a Magistrate of the Amlazi Court, was so sickened at the sight of an Indian witness hiccuping that he could stand it no longer and asked the Indian to stop. Once an Indian and some Europeans were at dinner table. During the meal the Indian started belching. An English lady at the table almost fainted and could not eat at all that day. We can see from these instances how necessary it is for us always to show consideration for the feelings of others. Also, while we live in this country, we should so behave that the whites' prejudices against us are weakened. With this end in view, we list below some of the causes of their prejudice and appeal to all Indians to overcome them.

Some Don'ts

1. Avoid, as far as possible, blowing your nose or spitting on swept or paved walks or in the presence of others.

On hygienic grounds also, this rule is worth observing. Doctors say that sometimes serious diseases are caused by contact with the nasal or oral discharge of another. Dr. Murison has said that we often spread tuberculosis through our habit of spitting anywhere. Both these things should be done into a spittoon while at home, and into a handkerchief while out, and, as far as possible, in privacy.

2. One should not belch, hiccup, break wind, or scratch oneself in the presence of others.

These [maxims] are useful for correct social behaviour. By practice one can learn to check one's instinct to do any of these things.

3. If you want to cough, do so holding your handkerchief against the mouth.

If one's spittle gets blown on to others, it annoys them and if one has any disease, the spittle carries it to them.

4. Even after a bath, in many men, some dirt remains in the ears or under the nails. It is necessary to pare one's nails and keep them as well as the ears clean.

5. Those who do not grow a regular beard should, if necessary, shave every day. An unshaven face is a sign of laziness or stinginess.

6. One should not let mucu accumulate in the corners of the eyes. One who allows this to happen is considered slothful and a sleepy-head.

7. Every act of cleaning the body should be done in privacy.

8. The turban or cap and the shoes should be clean. The life of the shoes is prolonged by cleaning and polishing.

9. Those who chew betel-leaf and nut should do so at fixed hours, as with other kinds of food so as to avoid giving the impression that we are eating all the time. Those who chew tobacco have a lot to think about. They disfigure every spot by spitting. Addicts to tobacco, as the Gujarati proverb goes, spoil the corner of the house where they chew tobacco, the whole house if they smoke and their clothes if they take snuff.

These are rules for personal cleanliness. Later we shall write of those relating to the home and its environs.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

336. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Sir Richard Solomon's Speech

I have already written of Sir Richard Solomon's election speech[1] at Pretoria on January 21 and said I would give, in translation, his ideas on Coloured persons. I do so today.

Asiatic Ordinance

> Now I come to the question of Asiatics, which is related to that of the Kaffirs. Most of the Asiatics in this territory are Indians who have entered lawfully and secured their rights in a similar fashion. There are also those who have entered by breaking the law. Let them be punished for that. (Applause.) But the lawful immigrants are entitled to justice as well as to recognition, and they should get them. They should not be deprived of rights lawfully acquired. It is therefore necessary to maintain a complete register of the lawful immigrants. Moreover registration is necessary

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 297 and "Indians in the Transvaal", pp. 306-7.

not only to protect the interests of those who are here by virtue of their legal right, but also to prevent the immigration of those who may in future be prohibited. With this end in view a law was passed by the Legislative Council, but it failed to receive the assent of the Imperial Government, as the Indian community raised unreasonable objections to it. This is quite understandable for the Imperial Government has a great responsibility in relation to India. As long, therefore, as the reins of power in this Colony are in the hands of the Imperial Government, it is clear that they will not assent to such an act.

"Pass Law Again"

But we can [now] pass a law similar to the previous one. I am sure the Imperial Government will give their consent to a similar bill passed by a self-governing colony.

Other Acts

Some may ask what should be done about Indian immigration in the future. The English traders in this Colony hold that the Indians, who have a different way of life and who enter into unfair competition with them, should be prohibited from entering and trading in the Transvaal. They are afraid that they will be ruined by the immigration of such men. I sympathize with this line of thinking. Hence I believe that the parliament of this Colony should, as early as possible, enact a measure to restrict Indian immigration. The model for such a law is to be had in the Cape or Natal.

Are Not Cape and Natal Laws Enough ?

I have given much thought to this question; and I think that, if we adopt the laws of the Cape Colony and Natal, the immigration of ordinary coolies will discontinue, but the immigration of those whom you really wish to keep out, namely, the traders, will not stop. If, therefore, we adopt the Cape or the Natal Act, we shall have to add to it the further provision that the immigrant Asiatic cannot carry on trade.

Sir Richard's Remedy

I wish to speak frankly on this question. Personally I would prefer it that Indians were not allowed to come into the Colony at all. A concession may be made in favour of only those coming on a short visit. It is much better not to allow any Indians to come in rather than allow them in and then to suppress them, leading to a clash between the local and the Imperial Governments. I am

therefore of the view that we should pass an act similar to the one in force in the Orange River Colony. It was enacted before the Boer War and the Imperial Government did not oppose it. In passing the measure we should provide for the continued stay of lawful immigrants and the protection of the rights acquired by them.

JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Johannesburg Chamber has issued a statement giving the causes of the starvation now prevalent in Johannesburg. Competition from the Indian trader is mentioned as one of them. In his speech[1] a few months ago, Mr. Quinn had shown that it was no use blaming the Indian trader. But the Chamber's sole business at present is to rouse public opinion against Indians as much as possible.

INDIANS GOING TO DELAGOA BAY

News having been received of the ill-treatment of Indians going from the Transvaal to Delagoa Bay, an inquiry was made of the Portuguese Consul. In his reply he says that no further disability has been imposed; that, if any regulations were framed recently, they have not been published in the *Gazette*, and that an Indian going from the Transvaal has no difficulty. The hardship brought to our notice was that Indians from the Transvaal were detained at the border if they did not hold a pass for Delagoa Bay similar to the Natal pass. Further correspondence with the Consul is going on, and another detailed letter from him is expected.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

The Transvaal Leader today publishes a cable from England reporting the annual meeting of the East India Association presided over by Sir Raymond West. A speaker at the meeting pointed out that Indians suffered no hardships in places like Jamaica, because the whites there belonged to good families and were respectable people. In those places a considerable income could be earned by good, capable Indians, free from any bad habits. Commenting on this, Sir Raymond West said that there could be no comparison between Jamaica and South Africa, for the whites in South Africa were hostile to the Indians because they suffered from Indian competition. Sir Raymond concluded by saying that one of the remedies for Indian hardships in South Africa was that every Indian should receive adequate education. Sir Raymond

[1] *Vide* "Quinn's Speech", pp. 277-8 and "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 279-80. There is, however, no reference to this point made by Quinn in Gandhiji's summaries of his speech.

means to suggest that, if we are educated, the displeasure of the whites may lessen, for in that case we should be copying their way of life.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

337. *ETHICAL RELIGION - V*

CHAPTER V : MORALITY AS A RELIGION

The subject of this chapter may strike one as strange. The common idea is that morality and religion are distinct things; still this chapter seeks to consider morality as a religion. Some readers may think the writer guilty of confusion. That reproach may come from two sides—from those who regard religion as more than morality, and from others who think that, where there is morality, there is no need for religion. Yet the author's intention is to show their close relationship. The societies spreading ethical religion or religious ethics believe in religion through morality.

The common idea, it may be admitted, is that there may be morality without religion and religion without morality. One comes across many men of immoral conduct who claim to be religious in spite of the sinful acts they commit. On the other hand, there are moral men like the late Mr. Bradlaugh, who are proud to call themselves atheists and would run away from the name of religion. Those who hold either of these views are mistaken. Those who hold the first view are not only mistaken, but also dangerous as they practise immorality under the guise of religion. In this chapter, therefore, we shall show that, considered intellectually and scientifically, religion and morality are united and should be so united.

Morality was in the beginning simply the customary conduct of a community, settled ways of acting that men living together naturally fell into. By a natural process the good customs tended to survive and the bad ones to die out, since, if the bad ones did not die out, they would weaken the community and lead to its extinction. Even today we see this process at work. It is neither morality nor religion if people observe good customs more or less unthinkingly. However, most of what passes for morality in the world today consists, as pointed out above, of good customs.

Moreover, men often have a merely superficial idea of religion. Sometimes men believe in religion only as a means to ward off dangers that threaten them. It would be a mistake to dignify actions as religious where they are performed out of a love that springs from fear.

But at long last a time does come when men begin to tread the path of morality consciously, deliberately with a determined will,

regardless of gain or loss, of life or death, without turning to look back, ready to sacrifice themselves. Then can they be said to have been permeated with true morality.

How can such morality subsist except with the support of religion? One tells oneself, "If by doing a little harm to another, I can secure my personal interest, why should I not do that little harm?" The profit derived from doing harm is no profit, but a positive loss [to the doer]. How shall this unpalatable dose go down one's throat? Ostensibly in Germany's interest, Bismarck perpetrated dreadful deeds. Where then was his education? Where did those maxims of morality disappear which, at other times, he used to mouth before schoolchildren? Obviously, a reply to all these questions can be given. The reason why he could not keep up his morality in the face of these difficulties was that his morality was not grounded in religion. So long as the seed of morality is not watered by religion, it cannot sprout. Without water it withers and ultimately perishes. Thus it will be seen that true or ideal morality ought to include true religion. To put the same thought differently, morality cannot be observed without religion. That is to say, morality should be observed as a religion.

Furthermore, it is seen that the rules of morality, laid down in the world's great religions, are largely the same. The founders of the religions have also explained that morality is the basis of religion. If a foundation is removed, the superstructure falls to the ground; similarly if morality is destroyed, religion which is built on it comes crashing down.

The author adds that there is nothing wrong in calling morality a religion. Dr. Coit in his prayer says, "I shall have no other God except righteousness." On reflection, we shall realize that God will not help us and answer our impassioned prayer for help, if we utter His name, while having a dagger concealed under our arm. Let us take two men, one who believes in the existence of God, yet breaks all His Commandments; and another who, though not acknowledging God by name, worships Him through his deeds and obeys His laws, recognizing in the divine laws, their Maker. Which of the two men shall we call a man of religion and morality? Without a moment's thought, one would emphatically reply that the second man alone is to be considered religious and moral.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-2-1907

[1] Here follows a poem by Behramji Malbari which has not been translated.

338. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
February 2, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand. I shall write about the firm on Monday.

I am sending herewith the letters you sent to me as well as the communication received by me with my comment on it. Please attend to these carefully.

Your bill for the Anti-I[ndian] Law Fund was quite in order. I am sending it to you today. I have credited the money. Please send me a stamped receipt. Please also prepare a bill for the £5 which I had credited to your account in October for the petition about the Vrededorp Ordinance and send me a receipt as of that date for my file.

I am sending very little material today. I shall send more to-morrow.

Please try to keep Harilal Thakkar as quiet as possible and treat him very kindly. I have a letter from him today. I have replied to it.[1] His mind does not seem to have yet calmed down.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I have sent Mr. Ritch's interview[2] to Mr. West. Please drop the portion I have deleted from it and give its translation in this issue.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4695

339. ADAMJI MIANKHAN

[Before *February 5, 1907*][3]

Mr. Adamji Miankhan sailed home on the 7th. His services to the Indian community should be an example to all Indian traders. His portrait is published in this issue. Mr. Adamji comes of a noble family. His ancestors carried on a business in brocades and many varieties of cloth. In 1884, when he was eighteen, he came to South Africa along with his brother, Mr. Gulam Hussain, and his father, Mr. Miankhan. He had had some English education which proved very useful.

[1] This letter is not available.

[2] Mr. Ritch's interview with a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance and Natal Municipal Bill. *Vide Indian Opinion*, 2-2-1907.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", p. 318.

It was really in 1896-7 that the Indian community had the occasion to benefit from his public services. It was not long after the Congress had been founded, and its first Secretary was to leave for India. The problem then arose of who was to take his place. But thanks to his knowledge of English and his tact and competence, Mr. Adamji was unanimously appointed Acting Secretary. At this time Mr. Abdul Karim Haji Amod Zaveri was the President. Within six months of their assumption of office the funds of the Congress rose from £100 to £1100. The members also in those days were full of enthusiasm. They used to travel long distances in their own carriages to collect funds. And the whole community now enjoys the fruits of the work they did at that time. Most of the credit for this work goes to Mr. Adamji; no society can progress unless its secretary is alert and has drive. But it was in December of 1896 and January of 1897 that Adamji's tact and ability were clearly seen. At that time the passengers from s.s. *Courland* and s.s. *Naderi* had a difficult time in landing at Durban.[1] The whites were opposed to their landing and were determined at all costs to prevent it. The occasion called for great self-restraint, a quick judgement and patience. Mr. Adamji showed all these virtues. He worked day and night, at the cost of his own business, to ward off the looming misery. It was at this time that the late Mr. Nazar came to South Africa and rendered valuable help. However, if Mr. Adamji had not shown that grit and tenacity, the happy ending could never have come about.

From the time of the above crisis until the present day, Mr. Adamji has always done public work to the best of his capacity and has given the benefit of his experience to Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri and Mr. Mahomed Cassim Anglia who are now Joint Secretaries. We pray to God that Mr. Adamji may realize his wishes in his native land and return in good health for public work here; and we wish that other leading Indian citizens will follow Mr. Adamji's example.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

[1] *Vide* Vol. II, p. 154.

340. ETHICAL RELIGION-VI

[Before *February 5, 1907*][1]

CHAPTER VI : RELIGIOUS MORALITY OR MORAL RELIGION

Darwin's Views on Ethics

Before summarizing this chapter, it is necessary to give an account first of Darwin himself. Darwin was a great Englishman of the last century who made great scientific discoveries. His memory and his power of observation were amazing. He has written some books which deserve to be read and pondered. With a mass of evidence and arguments, he has shown how man came into being; how he has evolved from a particular kind of monkey. After a large number of experiments and much sifting of evidence, he realized that there was not much difference between the anatomy of man and that of the ape. Whether this conclusion is correct or not has not much to do with ethics. Besides this, Darwin has also shown how ideas of morality affect mankind. And as many scholars have faith in Darwin's writings, our author has dealt with his views in Chapter VI.

Chapter VI

It is noble voluntarily to do what is good and right. The true sign of man's nobility is the fact that, instead of being driven about like a cloud before the wind, he stands firm and can do, and in fact does, what he deems proper.

Nevertheless, we ought to know the direction in which our environment disposes our instincts. We know that we are not in every way masters of our own life; there are conditions outside of us to which we have to adjust ourselves. For instance, in a country where Himalayan cold prevails, we have to put on adequate clothing, whether we like it or not, in order to keep the body warm. That is, we have to act with prudence.

The question now arises: does the influence of environment lead us to be moral? Or can it be that the forces that surround us are indifferent to morality?

At this point it becomes necessary to consider Darwin's views. Though Darwin did not write as a moral philosopher, he has shown how close the connection is between morality and environment. Those who think that morality is unimportant and that physical strength and mental capacity are the only things that matter should read Darwin.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

According to him, there is an instinct of self-preservation in men as in other creatures. He also says that those who survive the struggle for existence may be regarded as successful, that is, those who are unfit tend to extinction, but that the issue of the struggle does not depend on mere physical force.

Comparing man with the bear or the buffalo, we find that, in physical strength, the bear and the buffalo are superior to him; in a tussle he will surely be worsted. Nonetheless he is their superior by virtue of his intelligence. Similarly we can compare different races of men. In war it is not the side with the largest numbers or with the hardiest soldiers that wins, but the side with the ablest generals and the best strategy, though its soldiers may be fewer or less hardy. In these examples we see the superiority of intelligence.

But Darwin shows further that moral strength is even superior to physical and intellectual strength; and we can see in various ways that a man who has moral qualities lasts longer than one who is devoid of them. Some hold that Darwin taught that strength is enough; that is, those who are physically strong ultimately survive. Superficial thinkers may believe that morality is of no use. But this is not Darwin's view at all. We find from the evidence of the early history of man that races without morality have completely disappeared. The people of Sodom and Gomorrah were extremely immoral and they are now therefore completely extinct. We can see even today how races without morality are steadily declining.

Let us now take some simple illustrations and see how at least common morality is necessary for sustaining the human race. A peaceful disposition is one element of morality. At first sight it may appear that people with a violent disposition rise in life; but a little reflection will show that, when the sword of violence falls, it may be on one's own neck. Freedom from bad habits forms another element of morality. Statistics have proved that, at the age of thirty, intemperate persons in England are not likely to live beyond another thirteen or fourteen years, while the teetotaller's expectation of life is seventy years. Yet another element of morality is chastity. Darwin has shown that profligate persons die early. They have no children, or if they have any, they are weak. The profligate become feeble of mind, and in course of time look like idiots.

If we consider the morals of various communities, we find the same state of affairs. Among the Andaman islanders the husband looks after his wife only until their child is weaned and begins to move about, and he then abandons her. That is, they do not have the quality of altruism, and utter selfishness prevails. The result is that the race is gradually dying out. Darwin shows that the altruistic instinct is present, to some extent, even in animals: timid birds display strength in defending their

young. This shows that, if there had been no selflessness among animals, we should have in the world scarcely any life other than grass and poisonous flora. The main distinction between man and other animals is that man is more selfless than the animals. He has sacrificed his life for others in proportion to his strength, that is, for his offspring, for his family, his community and his country.

Darwin clearly shows that moral strength is supreme. The ancient Greeks had greater intelligence than the Europeans of today, but when the former gave up morality, their intelligence became their enemy, and no trace of them remains today. Nations are sustained neither by wealth nor by armies, but by righteousness alone. It is the duty of man to bear this truth in mind and practise altruism, which is the highest form of morality.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

341. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
February 5, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I post to you today, with the necessary clarification, the papers you had sent me for my comments. I also send some Gujarati material, which has to be printed in this very issue. What I have written about Adamji Sheth[1] may appear some time later if he is not leaving just yet. I have suggested presenting him with an address. If one is presented to him by the Congress, I expect to get a separate report of it.[2]

It is good that the speeches of the Congress session have appeared in the Gujarati columns of the current issue. The biographical sketch of the Amir ought not to have been postponed so long.

I have not yet been able to get an Urdu poem for "Ethical Religion". If you come across any there, do insert it. I had hoped to get some Urdu poem today. If you don't find any, let the thing go without it, but do not insert any that applies to the Hindus alone. There is one song by Pritamdas in *Kavyadohan* beginning with the line, "O man, without caring to know the supreme ideal, you have hankered after your selfish ends only". You may use it if you approve of it. If you can get Kabir's *bhajans*, they will be quite unexceptionable.

[1] *Vide* "Adamji Miankhan", pp. 314-5.

[2] This address was presented on February 6, 1907 and the function reported in *Indian Opinion*, 9-2-1907.

I hope to have a letter about Kalyandas and about other matters tomorrow.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Letters about the power of attorney and registration were despatched yesterday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4696

342. LETTER TO TOWN CLERK

JOHANNESBURG,
February 6, 1907

TO
THE TOWN CLERK
P. O. Box 1047
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,

The Committee of the British Indian Association has seen the draft of the by-laws for licensing and regulating Asiatic tea-rooms or eating-houses. My Committee respectfully submits the following for the Council's consideration, in connection with the by-laws.

It appears that the necessity for the by-laws has arisen on account of the large, indentured Chinese population and the catering for that population which has been undertaken by various persons. But, under the definition of the term, "Asiatic tea-room or eating-house" is evidently included any place where Asiatics are catered for, and it would, therefore, include the small British Indian restaurants which are conducted in Johannesburg. They are very few, and have very few visitors, the British Indian population being all permanently resident, and not requiring any houses for feeding it. My Committee, therefore, ventures to suggest that the definition should not include those of British Indians. At the same time, my Committee has no desire to protect the few small British Indian restaurants in Johannesburg from inspection with regard to sanitation, etc., but, in the humble opinion of my Committee, the ordinary public health by-laws are sufficient for the purpose.

In the humble opinion of my Committee, the procedure laid down for making application for a tea-room or an eating-house licence is cumbersome and costly, and could only be justified if there were large remunerative establishments. The fee fixed for the annual licence, too, in my Committee's humble opinion, is almost prohibitive, and is greater than the fee charged for either European restaurants or Kaffir

eating-houses, the fee for the former being £7.10.0 only and for the latter £5. Moreover, the definition of an "Asiatic eating-house" includes a tea-room. Therefore, whilst a general tea-room carries with it a licence of £3, an Asiatic tea-room will require a licence fee of £10; and the fee of £2 for transfer of licences is, in my Committee's humble opinion, a heavy charge.

My Committee, therefore, ventures to trust that the Town Council will be pleased to favourably consider the objections herein raised to the proposed by-laws.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ABDOOL GANI
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

343. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
February 7, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter reached me on the 4th.

We are going to get the money for the advertisement of the Mahomedan estate. Please send the bill.

I have received the bills sent by you. I shall now see how much can be realized.

I did understand your suggestion about the riddles. I do not think it proper to introduce the riddles feature so long as we are not in a position to have it regularly and offer prizes ourselves. What can be the object of the man who wants to spend money on this? How long can he be expected to do so? Moreover, we can hardly expect many to take part in the competition. However, you may inquire of your correspondent if he intends paying for the prizes indefinitely. It would be very strange indeed if he wanted to do so. On the other hand, it would not be proper for us to start this feature if he agrees to give prizes once in a while. You may, however, write to me if you have more to say.

I follow what you say about Sanghavi.

Mr. B. P. Ibrahim has not asked us to discontinue the advertisement. I shall ask him about it when he comes. I shall see about the customers whose names you have sent me.

I am still trying to make arrangements for the Hamidia [Society].

I know that Manilal is weak in his arithmetic. Please give him adequate attention.

How much English has the new man studied? Who is he? Is he the son of an indentured labourer?

I shall be able to credit the money payable to Hirji Valji.

Regarding the Anti-Indian Law Fund bill, Hemchand says it was paid in cash here.

As the post will not reach me on Saturday evening, you need not bother about sending me proofs here. It will be enough if you let me know in your letter of Thursday what subjects have already been dealt with. It will enable me to know what topics I need not write about.

About your going to England, I think it is desirable, if you can go immediately. But your going depends mainly on you· work there.

(1) When can you be conveniently free?

(2) Who will take care of your work in your absence?

(3) Will Harilal be able to look after the Gujarati columns?

I think the proper time for you to leave for England is when you can get away from the Press. When you think you can do so conveniently, you will first have to discuss it with all your colleagues and then write to me.

That Kalyandas is leaving seems to me a calamity. I think you should as far as possible avoid going to town. Maganlal may go if he has the courage to undertake the work in town. Harilal should look after the Gujarati work and Maganlal should look after the accounts, that is, the original entries should be made by him. If, however, Maganlal cannot cope with the two jobs, and if West cannot do it, then I think your going will have to be put off for the present. You will then be able to leave only after I go there, that is, in the beginning of next year. I may be able to go there towards the end of this year. But if I do not, I can go there only in March next year; and your going will be postponed till then. I am thinking of sending for Kalyandas's brother [from India]. Perhaps Goko[1] too might come. But all this is uncertain. You have to consider whether or not you can leave, if Kalyandas is not there and no extra hand has been recruited. Think all this over and let me know. It would be better, I think, if you talked things over with West and wrote to me. What does he feel about it? If your visit to England Materializes, you will be unable to go to India. You may think of going to India on your way back. What you do must depend mainly on your choice.

Though Harilal has agreed to stay, I find some uncertainty in what he writes. Therefore, I wrote to you to treat him in such a manner as to have a steadying influence on his mind.

[1] Gokaldas

The poster is found useful here. It may prove useful there too if we can arrange to send a man regularly to town. Do not think any more of discontinuing it. Try to make the best use of the posters now that they have been printed. It is worth trying if Sanghavi, Omar Sheth and others exhibit the posters and also stock copies of *Indian Opinion* for sale. Ask Adams also. Some people in Maritzburg also might well stock these things. But all this requires time.

It is absolutely necessary to fix a particular amount per month so that nobody draws more. The better course would be to inform me every month how much each one has drawn, so that I can write to those who have [over]drawn. Or you may discuss the matter with Anandlal.

I feel the balance-sheet should now be made ready without delay. If Kalyandas can leave in April, please assign Maganlal mainly to this job and get it done by that time.

Please see what I have written to West yesterday about Sam Sardar's son who wants to stay there.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

In the printed list for Johannesburg which you sent, Mr. Ally's name is crossed. Why? Please find out and let me know.

Please send the paper to the following address if it is not already going there: Joseph Royeppen, 36, Stapleton Hall Road, Strand Green, N. London.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 4697

344. SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

We publish today in another section an article on the South Africa British Indian Committee. The article shows that the Committee is working hard and will be able to do really effective work, if it receives help from South Africa.

The main thing that we can do is to support it through agitation. The Grand Old Man of India too has given the same advice. It is not enough that we feel the pain; our cry must be loud enough to communicate that pain. Even as a mother, as the saying goes, does not serve [food] unasked, we must know that, unless we agitate at this end, nothing will happen and we shall not be able to avail ourselves of all the help that the Committee can give.

Our position would deteriorate if, having brought the Committee into existence, we failed to support it. For those who help us do so on

the [implicit] understanding that we deserve the help. We must support the Committee by providing the funds. We cannot make up the deficit for this year unless we send them the £300 we promised. We should continue to finance the Committee until a solution is found for our problems.

The Committee has to deal with the four following problems: (1) the Natal Municipal Bill; (2) the Natal Licensing Act; (3) the hardships of [Indians in the] Transvaal; and (4) the forthcoming Colonial Conference.

The Colonial Conference is scheduled to meet on April 15, and the Committee will have to busy itself about it with all its energy. As for the other three problems, we have to send them the necessary information. Regarding the two Natal Acts, we feel that we should hold a [protest] meeting and send cables to Lord Elgin and also inform the Committee. It must be borne in mind that such an opportunity, once lost, will never come again.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

345. TONGAAT LICENCE

The appeal against the rejection of the Tongaat licence was heard on January 31. A special report of this is given in our English section. It will be seen that, by and large, the Licensing Board has done no injustice. Those whose houses or shops have been certified fit by the doctors are given licences; and orders have been passed that licences be given to persons whose account books are fairly well kept. The result of this appeal provides full confirmation of the warning we had issued.

If we keep our shops and houses clean and maintain our accounts in an irreproachable manner, there will be no fear of our losing the licences. Nobody should be able to point the finger at us. It is not enough that our houses are ordinarily well kept; they should be so clean that no other houses can compare with them. We believe that Dr. Hill gave favourable evidence out of compassion. But we must not depend upon such pity. Nobody should assume that, because we are saved this year, we shall be saved next year also. Our houses, our shops and our books ought to be in proper condition, ready for inspection at any time. If they are, there will be little likelihood of difficulty in obtaining licences.

We earnestly hope that all Indian businessmen will take to heart the lesson learnt in the Tongaat licence case.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

346. *INDIAN TRADERS IN NATAL*

We have written a great deal of the fresh troubles that have come upon the Indian traders in Natal.[1] Yet we cannot think too much about what we are to do in that matter.

Writing in *The Times of Natal*, one Mr. F. A. Baker says that he once saw a Kaffir painting the front of an Indian shop and goes on to make the following comments:

> I do not know whether the common man notices this sort of thing. If he did, he would never argue that Indian traders should not be driven out forcibly. However much we [whites] patronize Indian traders, they will never patronize a white. They never drop a coin into the pocket of a white, unless forced to do so. I have seen [white] Government servants, workers and others, entering Indian shops. But have these traders ever given them any work? Even when an Indian trader knows of a starving white, he never helps him. Why should we show pity to such Indians? If our members of parliament do not pass an act to drive out these Indians, we must replace them by others who will carry out our wishes.

From these views expressed by a white we have a lesson to learn: we must encourage the whites too. It is a short-sighted policy to employ, through sheer niggardliness, a Kaffir for washing work. If we keep in view the conditions in this country and patronize the whites, whenever proper and necessary, then every such white will serve as an advertisement for the Indian trader. We do certain things to flatter or please the white merchants; if, instead of doing so, or over and above that, we helped a white, not in order to humour him but for doing him a good turn, that will yield us better results. We believe that to help a needy white is much better in every way than to feed a serpent like Mr. Tatham with milk and be bitten later. It is in the belief that they will harm us that we have not hitherto helped poor whites. Even if they do us harm, we shall have no occasion for regret, for we did not help them in the hope of a good turn in exchange.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

[1] *Vide* "Difficulties about Licences", p. 282, "Natal Licensing Act", pp. 291-5 and "*The Natal Mercury* and Indian Traders", pp. 295-6.

347. MIDDELBURG LOCATION

The Middelburg Town Council has served a notice on the Indians in the Location in that town to vacate it within three months. Those who have built houses have been asked to shift them from the site! This would mean that Indians who have lived there for a long time would have to remove the structures and leave without compensation. The Indians in the Location have addressed the British Indian Association on the subject, and an enquiry is being made.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

348. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

For Indians Going to Delagoa Bay

I wrote last week about Indians going to Delagoa Bay.[1] Mr. Manga who has arrived here from Delagoa Bay met the Portuguese Consul. The Consul has agreed to permit Indians who make an affidavit before him to proceed to Delagoa Bay. To a communication addressed to him, he has sent the following reply:

> With reference to your letter dated the 22nd, I have to state that there are no restrictions on foreigners visiting Delagoa Bay. But those intending to stay in Delagoa Bay have to obtain a permit to do so. If they propose to stay for less than twenty days, they have to intimate to the municipality their addresses and the purpose of the visit. A statement to this effect may be made before me also. Those who do not make such a statement are liable to be penalised; but three days' grace is usually given for the observance of these regulations.

In view of this, Indians who desire to go to India through Delagoa Bay will meet with no difficulty, if they obtain the requisite permit from the Consul.

Election Campaign

The election campaign is on. The rival candidates are spending a lot of money to get themselves elected. They have written letters to the electors asking for their votes. Sir Richard Solomon is going all out in his efforts at Pretoria. The result will be known by the 22nd of this month. *The Star* has called him the "National Scout".

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 311.

Dr. Porter

In his recent report to the Johannesburg Town Council[1] on health and sanitation in the city, Dr. Porter has criticized the Indians as follows.

Smallpox

Writing about smallpox, Dr. Porter says:

The greatest obstruction is caused by Asiatics and Somalis. The Asiatics resist anyone entering their houses [for purposes of inspection or treatment]. They obstruct the isolation of patients and measures to prevent infection. Whenever a medical examination is attempted, they send the patients into the toilet. It was only after a leading person was fined for an attempt to hide a case of suspected smallpox that they came to their senses. Later such cases came to the knowledge of the authorities without much difficulty, thanks to Mr. Lloyd. A great deal of help was forthcoming from the leaders of the Indian community at the time of the plague[2].

Malay Location

There was a population of 4,200 in November 1905 in the Malay Location. Of this number 1,600 were Indians, 970 Malays, 70 Chinese and Japanese, 100 Somalis, etc., 40 Kaffirs, 1,300 Cape Boys and 120 whites. Reporting on the Location in January 1906, Dr. Stock pointed out that, as there was a possibility of well-water being contaminated through percolation, it was necessary to drain the slop-water [on the surface]. There was danger of smallpox and plague breaking out among the Indians because they concealed their patients. The Chief Medical Officer suggested at first that it would be better if all poor Indians, waiters and the like, were removed from the town to the distant Bazaars. There were no doubt difficulties in doing this, but as the Klipspruit Location had come up, arrangements could be made for Indians to go there. As many Indians did business with the Kaffirs, it was hoped that they would go to Klipspruit.

This, in substance, is Dr. Porter's report. It contains other important observations besides. But this summary requires to be pondered over by every Indian. The suggestion about shifting to the Location is still there. And as long as we continue to conceal our patients and neglect the common rules of sanitation through niggardliness or laziness, the threat of [removal to] the Locations will always remain.

[1] The original has "municipality".

[2] The original has smallpox (શીતળા): but the reference here is clearly to plague.

ASIATIC EATING-HOUSES

The regulations governing Asiatic eating-houses, framed by the Johannesburg Town Council will come up before the Council in a few days. According to them the annual licensing fee will be £10. These regulations are meant primarily for the Chinese, but Indians too are covered by them. They will have to bear a great loss because the number of people using Indian eating-houses is very small, and they cannot therefore afford to pay the annual fee of £10. The British Indian Association has therefore written to the Council on the matter.[2] Other provisions deal with keeping the premises clean and the procedure for obtaining licences.

TURKEY AND GERMANY

A cable appearing in *The Rand Daily Mail* shows that a fresh cause of conflict has arisen between Turkey and Germany. As it is not a Reuter cable and may not appear in the newspapers there, I give a translation below:

> It appears that a few days ago Fehim Pasha, the chief of the secret police, detained a German ship carrying a cargo of timber. The reason for this was that its German owners did not offer bribes to the subordinate officers. The German Ambassador was informed of the Pasha's action and he sent a protest to the Port [authorities]. He further declared that, if the Pasha did not forthwith hand back the ship, it will be recovered with the help of the German Army for the rights of the German people were inviolable. This warning had the desired effect and the chief of the secret police immediately informed the German company that the ship had been released. Now the Ambassador has written a letter to the Port saying that Fehim Pasha is corrupt, is a free-booter and a notorious thief. Besides casting a slur on the good name of His Majesty the Sultan, he has belittled the Ottoman Government in the eyes of foreigners. The Ambassador further demands that Fehim Pasha should be deprived of his position according to law and should be deported or imprisoned for life.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-2-1907

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Town Clerk", pp. 319-20.

349. THE DEFEAT OF "THE ADVERTISER"[1]

The meeting of Indian leaders with the editor of *The Natal Advertiser* has yielded good results. *The Natal Advertiser* has written at length pointing out the fancied contradictions between our writings, the work done by Messrs Gandhi and Ally and the facts as stated by the leaders of the Indian community. It has further pointed out that even men like Sir Lepel Griffin are prepared to grant all rights to Indians and to allow any number of them to emigrate to South Africa. It is obvious that all this writing is of no value whatever. But instead of acknowledging its defeat, *The Advertiser* has tried to keep up the facade. Leaving aside *The Advertiser* article under review, it is easy to see that the paper holds the view that big traders should have no difficulties, that problems arising from the Immigration Act should be solved and a just attitude adopted towards the Indian community. If *The Advertiser* continues this policy, both the newspapers of Durban will, it may reasonably be expected, be somewhat friendly to the Indian community and not attack it outright. Much good can result if a similar arrangement can be arrived at with the Maritzburg papers also.

However, we must not assume that nothing remains to be done after what has appeared in *The Advertiser.* Admittedly, we shall have less to contend with if the newspapers do not write against us. But we have many other enemies like the Press to win over. The whites are not the ones to give up the struggle. For instance, Mr. Arthur Wade has started inciting the Kaffirs; he has appealed to them not to have any dealings with Indian traders. It is true that one or two speeches of this kind will not have much effect. But this speech should be a warning to us to be on the alert.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

[1] A deputation of leading Durban Indians met the editor of *The Natal Advertiser* following a critical editorial by the paper on the Imperial Government's reaction to the British Indian Deputation. This was, however, followed by a more conciliatory article addressed to Indians and entitled "A True Agitation and a False", which said, "Let us, at all events, understand one another."

350. NATAL LICENSING LAW

During the hearing of an appeal about a licence before the Maritzburg Town Council, a member of the Council said that they ought to hesitate before refusing a licence to an Indian who is a British subject. Moreover, the local chamber [of commerce] has passed a resolution to the effect that an Indian should have no difficulty in obtaining a licence if he could prove that he was a British subject. In the four licence cases that were tried in Verulam the charges were that the shops were dirty, that access to the houses was only through the shops or that the shops were also used as dining-rooms. In Potchefstroom, licences were refused on the score of colour alone. All the appeals from Ladysmith and the neighbouring places have been dismissed on the ground that the traders do not know how to keep accounts, that they do not know English at all and that they depend wholly on low-paid employees in these matters. The court refused even to record the evidence of the book-keepers. All this goes to show conclusively that the whites are bent on driving us out of this country. Those who have been refused licences are, as a matter of fact, deprived of their means of livelihood. What are they to do under these circumstances? Are they to starve or trade without a licence? The Government ought to think about this. They had warned the municipalities or town councils that, if the powers given to them were not used justly, these would be withdrawn. If our Congress and the Indian community carry on a determined struggle and bring home to the Government and the world at large the injustice done to Indian traders, we are sure some redress can be secured.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

351. CAPE LICENCES ACT

In this issue we publish a letter[1] concerning licences from Grahamstown in the Cape Colony. This leads one to suspect that a large number of poor hawkers is unable to carry on business for want of licences. Such licences are a source of income to many Indians. We have read the Cape Act and, as far as we know, the Town Councils are bound to issue licences. Legal action therefore can be taken in this matter.

[1] This letter was from a hawker who sought the intervention of the editor of *Indian Opinion*; he had held a hawker's licence for several years, which the authorities refused to renew and he was therefore faced with the prospect of starvation.

The same difficulties are met with in Natal. The Act itself is very rigorous, but because of the strenuous efforts of Congress officials much harm has been, and will be, prevented. The Congress Secretaries go about from place to place, encouraging the people to take the necessary measures.

The Cape League and the [British Indian] Association should follow this example. It is the duty of these two bodies to enquire into the conditions prevailing in every town. If they make sufficient effort, we believe, redress can be had. It must also be remembered that Natal does not offer the advantages that the Cape does for putting up a fight. It will, therefore, be a matter of shame if the Indian leaders in the Cape do not offer resistance. We are prepared to publish the names and addresses of all those who have not been able to obtain licences in the Cape, and we request all our readers to send us the same.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

352. ETHICAL RELIGION - VII

CHAPTER VII : SOCIAL IDEAL

It is sometimes said that all morality involves social relations. This is well said; for instance, if the judge has a proper sense of justice, men who go to court obtain satisfaction. Similarly love, kindness, generosity and other qualities can be manifested only in relation to others. The force of loyalty can be demonstrated only in our relations with one another. Of patriotism, nothing need be said. Truly speaking, there is no aspect of morality the benefit of which accrues to the practitioner alone. Sometimes it is said that truthfulness and other virtues have nothing to do with the other person and are entirely personal. But we must admit that by telling the truth we prevent harm to another, just as by telling a lie and deceiving a person we do him an injury.

In the same way, when a man disapproves of certain laws or customs and withdraws from society, even then his acts affect society. Such a man lives in a world of ideals. He does not worry that the world of his ideals is not yet born. For him the mere thought that the prevailing standard is not good enough is sufficient to impel him to resist it. He will constantly try to change other people's way of life to his own. This is how prophets have caused the world's wheels to change their course.

So long as man remains selfish and does not care for the happiness of others, he is no better than an animal and perhaps worse. His

superiority to the animal is seen only when we find him caring for his family. He is still more human, that is, much higher than the animal, when he extends his concept of the family to include his country or community as well. He climbs still higher in the scale when he comes to regard the human race as his family. A man is an animal or imperfect [as a human being] to the extent that he falls behind in his service to humanity. If I feel my wife's injury or that of my community, yet have no sympathy for anyone outside the circle, it is clear that I do not have any feeling for humanity as such; but I have, simply out of selfishness or a sense of discrimination, a certain feeling for my wife, my children or the community which I hold as my own.

That is to say, we have neither practised nor known ethical religion so long as we do not feel sympathy for every human being. Now we know that the higher morality must be comprehensive; it must embrace all men. Considering our relation to mankind, every man has a claim over us, as it is our duty always to serve him. We should act on the assumption that we have no claim on others. He is merely ignorant who would here argue that the man acting in this manner will be trampled in the world's scramble. For it is a universal experience that God always saves the man who whole-heartedly devotes himself to the service of others.

According to this moral standard all men are equal. This is not to be interpreted to mean equality of position and function for all. It only means that, if I hold a high place, I also have the ability to shoulder its duties and responsibilities. I should not therefore lose my head and believe that men with smaller responsibilities are my inferiors. Equality depends on the state of our mind, and until our mind reaches that state, we shall remain backward.

According to this moral standard no nation can rule another for selfish ends. It is immoral of the American people to reduce the aborigines to an inferior status and run the government. A civilized race coming into contact with a savage one owes it to the latter to raise it to its own level. The same standard rules that the king is the servant and not the master of his people and that the officers are not there to enjoy power but to make the people happy. If the people in a democratic state are selfish, that state comes to no good.

Moreover, according to this law, the stronger members of a state or community have to protect, not oppress, the weaker ones. Under such a government there can be no starvation; nor can there be excessive accumulation of riches; for we can never be happy while we see our neighbours languishing in misery. The man following this high moral standard will never amass wealth. He who would be moral need not be scared away by the thought that few follow this ideal morality; for he is master of his morality, not of its results. He will be considered

guilty if he does not practise morality; but nobody will find fault with him if his immoral behaviour has no consequences for society.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

353. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

New Parliament

There has been a great deal of hustle over the new parliament of the Transvaal, which is to have 58 members, 38 of whom will represent the Johannesburg area. The nominations of candidates were filed on Saturday, the 9th. This issue of *Indian Opinion* will be in the hands of readers by the 16th or the 18th. The election will take place on Wednesday, the 20th. The names of successful candidates will be known on the 21st. It is therefore hoped that these names will be available to our readers in the next issue.

The Parties

In all there are five parties: Progressive (i.e. mine-owners), Hetvolk, (i.e., the Dutch), Nationalist, Independent, and Labour. Only two of these are parties in the real sense. The Nationalist Party, it may be said, has been formed for those who might be scared by the names, Progressive and Hetvolk. It is widely believed that the Hetvolk and Nationalist Parties will fare well and that, between them, they will secure a majority of the seats. Many look upon the Progressive Party with disfavour. The leaders of the Hetvolks are General Botha and General Smuts, those of the Nationalists Sir Richard Solomon and Mr. Wyburg and of the Progressives Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Sir George Farrar, Mr. Hosken, etc. and others.

The real tussle that is going on is between Sir Richard Solomon and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. They are both candidates from Pretoria. It is difficult to say which of the two will win. Sir Richard's views about the Chinese and the Kaffirs having undergone a change, he is being looked upon by many with scorn. He was ready to bring the Chinese into the Colony, but now says that his views in the matter have changed. Formerly, he used to say that the Kaffirs should get their legitimate rights; now he would approve whatever the other members propose to do about them.

An analysis shows that there are 35 Hetvolk, 29 Progressive, 32 Independent, 15 Nationalist and 12 Labour candidates. Five of the Hetvolk candidates have already been elected unopposed.

The Indian community, it appears, stands neither to lose nor to gain whichever party comes to power, for members of both the parties have already expressed themselves against the Indians.

PERMIT OFFICE

An article has been published in *The Transvaal Advertiser* which clearly appears to have been inspired by the Permit Office. It says that the Indian community causes the Permit Office much trouble, that the failure of the Ordinance to receive assent has increased the work of that office, that Indians enter without permits from hundreds of places, that they bring in their children without permits and employ them in the stores, and that the decisions of the Supreme Court have moreover created numerous obstacles in the working of the existing law. *The Advertiser* has thus tried to incite the people so as to ensure in advance that the new parliament passes the Ordinance again.

The statements are obviously false. Instead of the Permit Office being put to trouble, it is that office which gives trouble. The hardships caused by the law are increasing instead of decreasing; and the Supreme Court steps in only when the Permit Office transgresses all limits. It is not enough that we know all this. Knowing this, we ought to adopt remedies for these ills. The measures that need to be taken have already been indicated in *Indian Opinion*. But the greatest, the ultimate, remedy is going to gaol; and so long as that is not forgotten, no harm can befall [us]. The adoption of this remedy will also require a good deal of money. The British Indian Association and all other bodies should take quick and effective measures in this regard.

MIDDELBURG LOCATION

News has now been received from Middelburg about the Location there. Acting on it, the Association has written to the Town Clerk asking him why the notices have been issued. Further action in the matter will be taken after a reply has been received.

COOVADIA'S CASE

Mr. Coovadia, a well-known merchant of Johannesburg, who is the Treasurer of the British Indian Association, was on his way to Johannesburg with his 16-year-old son. The boy was forced to detrain at Volksrust because he did not have a permit. Earlier when a permit was applied for, it was refused, and Captain Fowle had given the assurance that there would be no difficulty at all. Though Mr. Coovadia had this letter with him, the boy was nevertheless asked to detrain. Medical evidence indicated that the boy was eighteen years old, whereupon the Magistrate refused to release him. A written representation was made to Mr. Chamney who declined to intervene. Last Monday, the case came

up for hearing at Volksrust, when the Magistrate refused to send it up to Johannesburg for recording evidence. It will now therefore be heard next Monday. In the end, of course, the boy will be let off. But think of the trouble and expense Mr. Coovadia will have to go through before obtaining justice in such a trifling matter! When a permit was applied for, it was said that it could not be issued as the boy was under sixteen.[1] And for want of a permit one has to undergo all this expense. When a well-known man has to suffer these hardships, what about the poor?

Regulations for Asiatic Eating-houses

The British Indian Association has sent a representation[2] against these Regulations to the Town Council. It states that the licence fee for an eating-house should not be as high as £10 and that there was no need for applying these stringent rules to the Indian community as it was small in number.

Dr. Hegger

Dr. Hegger has come here in connection with the election campaign. In a speech he made on Sunday he said that an Indian voter had offered him a large sum, which he had refused. Obviously this is quite untrue. We may hope to hear more of the matter. Mr. Macintyre, who heard this falsehood, has sent a report in English for *Indian Opinion.*

Rains

This time there has been abundant rainfall in Johannesburg as indeed in the whole of the Transvaal. For three days it has been raining continuously. Great damage has been caused at Standerton by the heavy rain. The tank in Boksburg is overflowing.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-2-1907

[1] The original reads: "If a permit had been applied for, it would have been said that it could not be given as the boy was under sixteen years." Gandhiji, however, mentions earlier that a permit was in fact refused.

[2] This representation has been discussed in "Johannesburg Letter", p. 327. *Vide* also "Letter to Town Clerk", pp. 319-20.

354. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
February 22 [, *1907*]

SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

PLEASE THANK IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMITTEE FOR PRESSING CLAIM COMPENSATION VREDEDORP INDIANS[2] STOP INDIAN POPULATION VREDEDORP UNDER HUNDRED STOP INDIAN ASSETS INCLUDING BUILDINGS LEASES STOCK BOOK DEBTS NEARLY NINETEEN THOUSAND STOP SOME OLD RESIDENTS VREDEDORP STOP DUTCH GOVERNMENT NEVER INTERFERED STOP NO INDIAN SHANTIES SENDING PHOTOGRAPHS STOP ASSOCIATION REQUESTS INTERVENTION.

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

355. WHEN WOMEN ARE MANLY, WILL MEN BE EFFEMINATE?

This question is suggested by some cablegrams received from England last week. While English women do manly deeds, shall we, though men, behave like women? This is no matter for fun, but a grave one indeed. Let us see how.

The women of England have no franchise. They are fighting for it without minding people's ridicule. A few days ago a procession of eight hundred women marched to the Houses of Parliament. When the police stopped the crowd, some brave women tried to force their way into the House. These women do not belong to the working class. One of them is a sister of General French[3], and over sixty years old. Another, Miss Pankhurst, is the daughter of a well-known wealthy Englishman. Both are women of learning. There were many such women in this crowd of eight hundred. Of those who forced their way in, prominent ladies like General French's sister were arrested and prosecuted. The Magistrate sentenced them to fines ranging from £1 to

[1] A copy of this was forwarded by L. W. Ritch to the Colonial Office, London, on February 25.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 342-3.

[3] Field-Marshal Sir John French, (1852-1925); served in the South African War and was later Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in France during World War I.

£2, or to imprisonment for varying periods. Such sentences have been passed on 49 women, and each one of them, instead of paying up the pittance of a fine, has courted imprisonment. The aged sister of General French is also among them. We believe these women have behaved in a manly way.

Now let us look at our own house. Lord Selborne and Sir Richard Solomon say that the Asiatic Ordinance should be [re-]enacted. Perhaps that will be done in a month or two. Will Indians go to gaol if that happens? We think men cry for fear of imprisonment when they are caught while using a false permit, but not while committing the offence. This we regard as unmanly. Now when people are wrongfully treated as criminals and asked to give their finger-prints, will they quietly give them or will they go to gaol? If they give their finger-prints and suffer dishonour, we shall regard them as doubly unmanly. Hence we ask: will Indian men be effeminate? Or will they emulate the manliness shown by English women and wake up? Will they choose to find happiness in prison taking it to be a palace, or will they submit to oppression when the Transvaal Government starts it? In a few days our mettle will be tested.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

356. LADYSMITH LICENCES

To return to the subject of the Ladysmith licences, we should examine how much of the blame lies with us. We have repeatedly written on this matter in our English columns. A question has been asked in the House of Commons on the subject at the instance of the [South Africa British Indian] Committee, but it would be better if we made a search nearer home.

It came out in the course of the judgment on the appeal that the account books had been written up newly or only occasionally and were got written by a man for an annual fee of £8. *The Natal Witness* has severely criticized these practices and approved the action of the Ladysmith Board. We must think over all this. It is essential to maintain regular accounts. It is unnecessary for every trader to employ a separate accountant; what is necessary is that the accounts must be written up regularly so that no one can say a word against them. It is also possible to have the accounts written by an English accountant or through a lawyer, where a competent Indian accountant is not available. We shall never succeed unless we give up some of our stingy ways.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

357. CAPE IMMIGRATION ACT

Cables have appeared in the Press saying that the [Imperial] Government have assented to the new Cape Immigration Act and that it will soon come into force. The main difference is that, while formerly all Indians anywhere in South Africa were allowed to enter the Cape, now only the old Indian residents will be allowed in. There are other changes besides. We believe that the remissness of the Cape Indian leaders is partly responsible for these changes. It was quite likely that, even if there had been a strenuous struggle, the Indians would have lost the case, but then we would at least have done our duty. Again, for a struggle, the Cape offers advantages not found elsewhere. But the Cape Indians do not avail themselves of these advantages.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

358. TRADING LAW IN NATAL

We have reliable information that the resolution of the Licensing Board of Ladysmith has alarmed many members of the Durban Chamber of Commerce. In a private meeting of members, many expressed the opinion that the Licensing Act should be repealed. In the end they appointed Messrs Handuz and Butcher to inquire into the matter. Here is an opportunity which we can use to great advantage, if only our leaders will meet prominent members of the Chamber, and particularly the two gentlemen above named, and come to some agreement. What should be done is indicated in an English article in the present issue. We shall publish a Gujarati translation of it in the next issue. Changes in the Act have been suggested from a disinterested point of view, and nobody is bound to agree with them. However, there is no doubt that this is the only course for us to adopt.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

359. *NATAL MUNICIPAL BILL*[1]

We should be grateful to Lord Elgin for moving in the matter of the Natal Municipal Bill. He says that the term "uncivilized" should not be defined so as to include sons of indentured labourers. Moreover he says that it is not legitimate to include Indians among "Coloured persons", for all sorts of people are covered by the term. The Indian Government feels strongly in the matter and insists that the Indian community should be granted relief. Lord Elgin therefore hopes that the Natal Government will consider the point. In this controversy, it is probable that we shall win, if we do our duty. The Natal Municipal Council has replied that the Bill should remain unchanged.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

360. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*

Five Permit Cases

The case of Mr. Coovadia's son was heard by the Magistrate of Volksrust on Friday the 15th.[2] Mr. Gandhi appeared for Mr. Coovadia. Giving evidence, Constable MacGregor stated that boys under fourteen were allowed to enter without a permit, that permits were demanded of boys of fourteen and over, and that if they failed to produce them, they were arrested.

Mr. James Codie deposed that one could not say that Captain Fowle's decisions were always acceptable to the present Registrar. On being shown Captain Fowle's letter about Mr. Coovadia's son, he stated that the letter could not be treated as a permit and Mr. Chamney would not consider it as binding. On being severely cross-examined, he admitted that Mr. Chamney should accept everything that had been done by Captain Fowle as Permit Officer. Mr. Amod Saleji Coovadia[3] giving evidence about his nephew's age said that he was a student at Johannesburg in 1903. Mr. Coovadia corroborated this testimony. Dr. Hick gave evidence about the boy's age, and Mr. Gandhi produced Captain Fowle's

[1] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Elgin", p. 254.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 333-4.

[3] Brother of Ebrahim Saleji Coovadia

letters that were with him. The boy himself gave evidence to show that he had some knowledge of English. Here the hearing [of the evidence] was over. The Magistrate then heard the arguments on both sides and acquitted the boy.

After this the cases of four Indians were heard. They were alleged to have entered with other people's permits. Their names were Kika Parsad, Naga Bhana, Ambu Vallabh Soni and Mirzakhan. Three of them admitted that they had bought permits from others in Bombay on payment of Rs. 90 for each. The fourth man pleaded not guilty. All the four were sentenced to a fine of £40 or four months' imprisonment.

Mr. Coovadia's case shows that persons with genuine case sometimes obtain justice, after spending a lot of money. This is so mainly because of the false cases that are taken to the courts. It can be seen from the four cases heard on the same day that those who sell permits only get people into trouble by practising deceit and fraud. Those buying such permits lose their livelihood, are needlessly ruined and cannot live in the Transvaal. By such deeds they do harm to the whole community and are responsible for the enactment of rigorous laws.

Asiatic Blue Book

Lord Elgin has published in England the complete history of the Asiatic Ordinance. Long cables about it have been received by all the three newspapers here. Among these, Lord Selborne's statement, in particular, deserves to be noted by the Indian community. He severely criticizes Lord Elgin's decision. He says that, in granting the Indian plea, Lord Elgin has broken [Lord Selborne's] promise which he had made at Potchefstroom about not allowing fresh Indian immigrants till responsible government had been set up. This complaint of His Excellency is unjustified. For, the immigration of new Indians apart, even old residents have difficulty in re-entering the Colony and, if they succeed at all, it is after many months. He says further that many Indians continue to enter without permits. Even this statement should be regarded as improper, as the Indian community has repeatedly suggested to Lord Selborne the appointment of an inquiry commission to substantiate this. Lord Selborne's bitter remarks only show one thing: the Indian community has to put up a fight not merely against the whites, but also against the Governor himself who, instead of remaining impartial, has turned against the Indians.

New Members of Legislature

Lord Selborne has nominated 15 members to the legislature, of whom 11 are Progressives and four belong to the Hetvolk. They are: Mr. H. Crawford, Mr. L. Curtis, Col. W. Daerymple,

Mr. G. J. W. Du Toit, Mr. R. Feelpam, Mr. W. Grant, Mr. Max Langermann, Mr. W. A. Martin, Mr. T. A. R. Purchas, Mr. A. S. Raitt, Mr. A. G. Robertson, Mr. P. D. Roux, Mr. J. Roy, Mr. J. E. Van Der Merwe, A.[D.W.] Wolmarans.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

361. ETHICAL RELIGION - VIII

CHAPTER VIII : PERSONAL MORALITY

'I am responsible for this,' or 'This is my duty': this is a moving and wonderful thought. A mysterious, resounding voice seems to say, 'To thee, individually, O man, is given this task. Whether defeat or victory, both belong to thee. Thou art what no one else in the world is, for nowhere has nature created two similar objects. Thou hast a duty which no one else in the world can do, and if thou dost not do it that loss will stand debited to thee in the world's balance-sheet.'

'What is that duty I owe to myself?' Someone may quote the verse:

Call not man God, for man is not God,
Yet man is not distinct from God's glory,

and answer, 'My duty is to rest secure in the belief that I am a ray of God's light.' Another may answer that the duty is to have sympathy and fraternal regard for others. A third may answer that it is to revere parents, care for one's wife and children, and acquit oneself well with brother, sister or friend. Alongside of all these virtues, it is also a part of my duty to respect myself even as I respect others. As long as I do not understand myself, how shall I understand others? And how shall I respect one whom I do not know? Many hold the view that the obligation of proper conduct arises [only] in relation to others and that, in the absence of contact with others, one may do just as one pleases. He who holds this view does not know what he says. In this world none can, with impunity, act as he pleases.

Let us now see what our duty is to ourselves. Let us take, first, our private habits which are unknown to all but ourselves. We are responsible for them since they affect our character; but this is not all. We are responsible for them also because they affect others. Every person ought to control his own impulses, and keep his soul as well as body clean. 'Tell me,' says a great man, 'what a man's private habits are and I shall tell you what he is or will be'. We should therefore control all our appetites, so that we do not drink or eat to excess. Else we shall lose our strength and our good name. Worldly success never

comes to him who does not abstain from sensual pleasures and does not thus save his body, mind, intellect and soul.

Arguing along these lines and keeping one's instincts pure, one should further consider how to put them to use. One ought to have a fixed aim in life. If we do not discover our life's purpose, and keep steadily to the course, we shall be swept along like a rudderless ship on the high seas; we shall falter on the [moral] path. Man's highest duty in life is to serve mankind and take his share in bettering its condition. This is true worship—true prayer. He is a godly man who does God's work. Hypocrites and cheats going about invoking God's name are legion. Because a parrot utters the name of God, no one would call it godly. Contribution to an ideal order of human life is something everyone can aim at. With this aim in view the mother may legitimately rear her child, the lawyer may pursue his profession, the merchant may carry on his business or trade and the working man may labour. A person with that fixed aim would never deviate from the path of morality, for if he did, he could not fulfil his aim of uplifting mankind.

Let us consider the matter in some detail. We ought constantly to examine whether our way of life tends to improve human life or to worsen it. Thus the merchant should ask himself whether, in transacting a business, he is cheating himself or another. The lawyer and the physician, acting according to this standard, will give more thought to their client or patient than to their fees. The mother in rearing her child would proceed very cautiously lest she should spoil the child out of misguided love or some selfish interest. The worker too would be guided by these considerations and do his duty. The result of all this would be that, if the worker fulfils his function in conformity with the moral ideal, he would be deemed better and higher than the wealthy merchant, physician or lawyer who lives without any discipline. The worker would be the true coin and those selfish men, even though more intelligent or wealthy, would be counterfeit. This further shows that any man, whatever his place in life, has the power to fulfil this aim. A man's value depends upon his way of life, not his status. One's way of life is not to be judged by one's visible outward actions, but by one's inner leanings. For instance, if of two men, one gives a dollar to a poor person to rid himself of his presence and the other half a dollar but with love and out of compassion for the man, obviously, the one who gave half a dollar is truly moral, while the other who gave a dollar, the sinner.

To sum up, he alone is religious, he alone is happy and he alone is wealthy, who is sincere in himself, bears no malice, exploits no one and always acts with a pure mind. Such men alone can serve mankind. How can a damp matchstick kindle a log of wood? How can a man who does not practise morality teach it to another? How can a sinking man save another from drowning? The man who lives a moral life

never raises the question as to how to serve the world, for he is never in doubt. Matthew Arnold says of a friend:

I saw him sensitive in frame,
    I knew his spirits low,
And wished him health, success, and fame—
    I do not wish it now.
For these are all their own reward,
    And leave no good behind:
They try us—oftenest make us hard,
    Less modest, pure, and kind.

Time was when Arnold wished his friend health, success and fame. But he did not so wish now, because his friend's happiness or misery did not depend on their presence or absence; he therefore only wished that his morality might ever endure. Emerson says, "Adversity is the prosperity of the great." Both the money and the fame belonging to the base are a misery to them and to the world.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-2-1907

362. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

[*February 26, 1907*]

Notice regarding Permits

A notice published in the *Government Gazette* here says that permits, if applied for before March 31, will be issued to Indians who are at present in the Transvaal and can prove that they were there in 1899 and during or just before the war and that they left the Colony because of the war. After that date, those who do not hold a permit will be prosecuted. The notice means in effect that those who possess old registers and are at present in the Transvaal, or those who have other documents but not the yellow permit itself, should get one issued by March 31.

Vrededorp Ordinance

A member of the South Africa British Indian Committee had tabled a question in the House of Commons about the Vrededorp Ordinance. Mr. Winston Churchill said in reply that correspondence was going on with Lord Selborne regarding the compensation to be paid to Indians. This shows that Mr. Ritch has been working for the Committee most energetically; and that its effect is being felt. On receipt of this cable, the British Indian Association held a meeting

[1] Here follows an Urdu poem by Nazir in Gujarati transliteration.

and resolved to have photographs taken of the Vrededorp Location and publish them in a supplement to *Indian Opinion* and to send a cable [to England]. In pursuance of this resolution, a long cable[1] has been sent to the Committee saying that Indians own £19,000 worth of property—land, goods, buildings and outstandings—in that Location and that as many as 75 Indians live in it.

ASIATIC EATING-HOUSES

A letter on this subject has been received from the Johannesburg Town Council saying that it will certainly not reduce the annual fee that had already been fixed. The Association has written again.

RAILWAY HARDSHIPS

Letters were addressed to the General Manager of Railways about Mr. Coovadia not being allowed to go to Pretoria by the morning train and about Mr. James, an Indian, who was insulted by the conductor during his journey from Germiston. The reply states that an inquiry is being made.

NEW ELECTION

Last time I sent 48 names. The remaining 21 are given below: Parktown—Colonel Sampson (P); Newtown—R. Goldman (N); Trefontein—F. Bayers (HV); Barberton—R. K. Loveday ( ); Carolina—Ven Ardot (HV); Armello—Collins (HV); Roodekopen—Bezuideh Hout (HV); Leydenburg—C. T. Rabbi (HV), Mary Coel and Lomer (HV); Middelburg—Clarco (HV), De Wet (HV); Pretoria—J. Rissick (HV), De Erasmus (HV); Standerton—General Botha (HV); Bethal—Grovler (HV); Volksrust—J. A. Jubers (HV); Watterburg—F. Bayers (HV), De Wall (HV); Bloembauff—I. Farrera (HV); Zoutpansburg—Manik (HV) and A. Mantus (HV). Thus of a total of 69 elected, 21 are Progressive, 35 Hetvolk, seven Nationalist, three Labour Party and three Independent.

The election campaign has ended with results that nobody had foreseen. The Dutch have won a victory leaving all the other parties well behind. The most that was hoped for was that the Dutch and the Nationalist Party together might win a majority. This means that in political affairs the Dutch have won back what they lost in the war. There is great excitement over Sir Richard Solomon's defeat at Pretoria. Sir Richard will not now be able to assume the office of Prime Minister. But it is being said that some elected member will resign his seat and Sir Richard will thus be given an opportunity to enter parliament. If this

[1] *Vide* "Cable to S.A.B.I. Committee", p. 335.

comes about, it seems probable that Sir Richard will become Minister for Justice. General Botha is likely to be the Prime Minister. That is to say, he will be as good as President. This has greatly elated the hearts of the Dutch. For us there is not much in this either to rejoice or to regret. However, one may hope that the Dutch will do the Indian community some measure of justice. Some of them know the Indian community well. It does not seem likely that they will be wholly unjust. I am writing this on Tuesday, the 26th. However, it would be no matter for surprise if the cabinet were to be formed before this issue of *Indian Opinion* is out.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

363. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
February 26, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I am sending in a separate packet the Hamidia Society's job. The book is to be the same size as a printed copy of a report I am sending you in the same packet. In addition to the Gujarati rules and their English translation both of which have already been sent, you have to print the enclosed Gujarati matter. The Gujarati matter now enclosed is also to be rendered in English and printed. Will you please let me know the charge for printing 500 copies of the whole job? You need not count the cost of translation and let me know also approximately how many pages the whole thing will occupy. This will be in your hands on Thursday. If you can send me a telegram for 1s, you may let me know the charge by telegram, as I am likely to be there next week and I am anxious while I am here to get either the order or its withdrawal. I raised the question of cost myself, because it seemed to me that the job was rather bulky, and, if a bill was rendered to them, that might appear to them to be too big, [and] they might feel dissatisfied. I thought, therefore, that they should know the true position beforehand. I have got the Gujarati proof for the rules which I am sending in the same packet. You need not proceed with the printing because everything will depend upon the acceptance of our terms. You should keep the Gujarati matter at present with you, for, in the event of the acceptance of our terms, I shall be able to translate it there on my coming.

I am sending something more for *Indian Opinion*. You have sent me the proof of Messrs Avery's order. I return it. I wonder if you

noticed the glaring blunders in the English portion. I had to telegraph you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosure]

[PS.]

As regards the article by "The Colonist" which I had asked you to translate, we might add in the Gujarati translation that the ideas expressed in the article are 'ours'.

It is not necessary to rule the paper for me. The moneys for the Madressa that were posted elsewhere are now properly credited. These and the ones recently received are included in the settlement. Lalbhai's was received only yesterday. Kalyandas has not sent the customs note.

From a photostat of the typewritten original with a Gujarati postscript in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4710

364. GOGA'S LICENCE

This licence appeal case should give us much food for thought. Mr. Goga deserves congratulations on his success. The Indian community, too, should be pleased. In this matter, *The Natal Mercury* has commented strongly in our favour. So too has *The Times of Natal.* The local Government also is helping us. But what is the good of all this? How much did Mr. Goga have to spend to get his right accepted? He had to engage three lawyers, all reputed to be at the top of the profession in Natal.[1] He had a very anxious time before he got his licence. And then, it was not out of a sense of justice that the Town Council gave it to him; but under pressure. For, as soon as the case of Mr. Goga's licence concluded, there came up the case of a poor Indian, Benne by name. In his case, too, the objection related to the books of account, but the licence was refused. The reason was that Benne could not engage three lawyers and take the matter further. And so he is to have no licence. It only means that those who are very rich can save their licences.[2] But how long can the well-to-do hold out while the poor are ruined? The fate of the rich Indians depends upon that of the poor

[1] Wylie, K.C., lawyer and legislator, was Goga's leading counsel. He was "part author of the Dealers' Licenses Act", took notable part in suppressing the Zulu rebellion in Natal and argued during the case that "even an Indian was entitled to justice and fair play".

[2] Apart from the expenses on litigation, Russell, an ex-Mayor, extorted—so it transpired during the case—£50 from Goga for restoring his licence to him.

Indian shopkeepers. The subject is being discussed throughout the Colony at present. The Chamber of Commerce intends to work on our side, so that if we put up a good fight, we shall probably succeed in getting the law changed.

With this object in view we, as independent observers, have made some suggestions in the English section.[1] It is necessary for us to organize resistance throughout the Colony along those lines. The Congress is working hard. It should exert itself further, establish contacts with the Chambers and approach other Europeans and important members of parliament in order to bring about a solution.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

365. CAPE IMMIGRATION ACT

A new Immigration Act has been passed in the Cape, which, in our opinion, is much worse than the one in Natal. For the present, we reproduce here only its worst features. If an Indian not knowing English leaves the Cape without a permit, he cannot return even if he has been a resident. That means that an Indian who does not know English will have to take out a permit each time he goes out and pay a fee of £1. Such a permit will be issued for a limited period only. One cannot therefore have a permanent certificate. Moreover, according to the *Gazette* in which the Act is published, a person applying for such a certificate will have to produce his photograph and other tokens of identity. The clause requiring a permit is not relaxable because it is a part of the Act, and the Act has already received the assent of Lord Elgin. The matter of the photograph, however, falls within the discretion of the Governor. It is a local regulation, which can be amended from time to time. We would advise the leaders of the Cape to fight out the question of the photograph without losing time. It was a mistake that they allowed the Act to be passed in the first place. But we will regard it as a major crime if the clause requiring a photograph remains. If this practice is established in the Cape, it will have repercussions elsewhere, and offend religious sentiment. We hope the leaders of the Cape will lose no time in taking up this matter. We print elsewhere a translation of the main portions of the Act.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

[1] *Vide* "Costly Justice", *Indian Opinion*, 2-3-1907.

366. "THE MERCURY" AND INDIAN TRADERS

The comments appearing in *The Natal Mercury* of February 21 on Indian traders deserve to be known and understood.[1] The paper upholds the Indian traders and condemns the Ladysmith Council. But it also shows the kind of rocks the ship of our trade has to steer clear of. *The Mercury* says that Maritzburg merchants should consider it their good fortune that they have at all been granted licences. Despite notices served on them, they had not kept proper account books. It was only when another notice was served that they did so. The Council was not bound to give notice twice, and without caring for the members of the Labour Party, the Council issued licences out of kindness. We should remember that such kindness is not likely to be repeated. The whites have already risen in opposition to the issuing of licences in this manner. However, the danger has passed for this year. But if it happens repeatedly, the holder of the licence will lose it and the Congress will not be able to help such a negligent person. Every Indian trader should bear this in mind and devote full attention to the proper maintenance of books and to the cleanliness of his shop and his house.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

367. SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

This Committee has been doing excellent work as the two recent cablegrams show. One of them mentions the steps taken by the Committee in regard to the Ladysmith matter, as a result of which Lord Elgin has sent a strong communication. The notice in which the decision not to issue licences after a year was published has had to be publicly withdrawn. The second cablegram tells us that, though the Vrededorp Ordinance has been passed, the [Imperial] Government is again corresponding with Lord Selborne regarding the compensation to be paid to Indian residents. From this and from Mr. Ritch's letters which we

[1] *The Natal Mercury* had proposed that, if the vast majority of Europeans did not like Indian traders, they should boycott the latter. It said, "...the Asiatic can only increase his fixed property in the town if he finds European landowners and house-owners willing to sell to him. Asiatic trading has reached its present dimensions because Europeans have licensed the Asiatic to trade and Europeans have thought it to their advantage to have dealings with Asiatics."

publish every week, it is clear that much benefit is likely to accrue to us from the appointment of the South Africa Committee.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

368. VREDEDORP ORDINANCE

We publish in this issue some photographs bearing on the Ordinance. They will show that what Mr. Churchill has described as shanties are not shanties at all but magnificent buildings. It was necessary to bring out this supplement [of photographs] because with these we could convince Lord Elgin that all the information sent to him from here should not be accepted as true. Especially when the information relates to the Indians, it is hardly ever likely to be true, because the European officials here are found to share the anti-Indian prejudices that the other whites have. Lord Selborne may have no knowledge of the condition of Indian houses in Vrededorp, and we cannot therefore blame him. It is the officers below who do all the harm.

In this issue we also publish a table which will show that the loss suffered by the Indian community in Vrededorp amounts to £19,000. The table will lend much support to the agitation being conducted in London that Indians should be compensated for this loss.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

369. NEW IMMIGRATION ACT IN THE CAPE

The new Immigration Act was published in the Cape *Government Gazette* of February 15. The following is a translation of the clauses relating to Indians:

Prohibited Immigrants

A person coming under any of the clauses below will be considered a "prohibited immigrant" and will not be allowed to enter: (1) a person who is unable, owing to insufficient education, to write out and sign, in the characters of any European language, an application to the satisfaction of the [Immigration] Officer; (2) a person who has no means of livelihood; (3) a person convicted of murder, robbery, theft, conspiracy or other offences and therefore deemed undesirable; and (4) a lunatic.

The above clauses will not, however, apply to the following immigrants: (1) a person who has rendered satisfactory service in [His Majesty's] voluntary forces; (2) the wife, and child under the age of

sixteen years, of any person eligible to immigrate into the Colony; (3) persons born in South Africa and persons of European birth domiciled in South Africa; (4) any Asiatic lawfully resident in the Colony and returning to it in accordance with the terms and conditions of a permit taken and authorizing him to be absent temporarily.

Examination on Landing

Every person landing at any port in the Colony shall be required to satisfy the Immigration Officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant and that he is exempted from the provisions of the Act. Under this regulation every one who lands in the Cape Colony, save a minor under sixteen and a wife accompanying her husband, will have to fill in a printed form. Those who do not fill in this form or those who, notwithstanding their having filled it in, are found to be [prohibited] immigrants, shall be liable to detention.

However, if a person wants to prove his right of landing, he will be given every reasonable facility to do so.

Temporary Permits

Temporary permits will be issued to those who wish to enter in order to tranship or to reside temporarily in it for a reasonably necessary purpose on payment of a fee of £1 and of a reasonable sum to be deposited as security. The deposit shall be refunded to the holder of the permit if he returns within the period for which the permit is issued. However, if a permit-holder overstays, he will forfeit his deposit and he may be arrested and prosecuted. Any permit-holder who gives a false or misleading address shall be liable to forfeit his permit and to prosecution. The Chief Immigration Officer will have the power to issue a permit for three weeks and the Minister concerned the power to issue one for three months.

Photographic Permits

Asiatics lawfully resident in the Colony can take out these permits. The period for which they are available and the port at which the holder shall disembark on return to the Colony will be stated in these permits. A fee of £1 will be charged for a permit; every permit shall contain a photograph of the holder and such particulars and marks as may be necessary for purposes of identification.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

370. *HIS MAJESTY AMIR HABIBULLAH AT ALIGARH COLLEGE*

His Majesty the Amir visited Aligarh College on January 16, and he was welcomed with great honours. We give here a translation from *The Times of India* of his address to the students of that College on the occasion.

Shiya and Sunni

You are young. Please listen to me. Some people may have told you that I am a fanatic Sunni. But does it mean that because I am a Sunni I am a fanatic? I shall ask you a question: Will those of you who are Shiyas show greater regard to Hindus than to Sunnis? Never. Will you then believe that I, who am a Sunni, will prefer Hindus to Shiyas? Never. You must have read in the newspapers that, on Bakr-Id, I prevented the killing of cows in Delhi lest it should hurt the feelings of Hindus. If such is my regard for the Hindus, do you believe that I shall have less for the Shiyas? I beg of you to give up from today the notion that I am a fanatic Sunni. In Afghanistan my subjects include Sunnis, Shiyas, Hindus and Jews. I allow them all full religious freedom. Do you call this fanaticism? But one thing I must say: I cannot allow Shiyas to show disrespect to the three Khalifas. If people think it fanatical of me to prevent Shiyas from showing such disrespect, well, I am a fanatic.

Education

Many people have spoken against the Aligarh College. I have therefore come to find out the truth for myself. I am thankful to the Government of India for letting Muslims assemble in such numbers to meet me and for giving me this opportunity to address you. When I questioned the students of Aligarh College today, I was glad to find them well informed on religious matters. I shall therefore be able to silence those who have been speaking against the College.

Western Education

I would never say that you should not receive western education. On the contrary, I would advise you—and I would say this twice over—to exert yourselves to the utmost to receive that education. But before you do that you must have education in Islam. I have started the Habibia College in Afghanistan. There I have allowed western education to be imparted in order that the students may

grow up to be whole Muslims. I found the students whom I examined today to be very well educated in religion.

DONATION TO COLLEGE

I am very sorry that, in view of the heavy expenditure I have to incur on education in my own country, I cannot help the Aligarh College as much as I should like to. For the present, I shall give the College Rs. 500 every month. It is my advice that those whom I examined today should be sent abroad for extensive travel. They will prove successful in the future. In addition to the Rs. 500 a month, I now donate Rs. 20,000 to the College.

WELCOME AT GWALIOR

After being honoured at Aligarh College His Majesty the Amir went to Gwalior where he was received with much pomp and ceremony. He was Maharaja Scindia's guest and stayed in his palace.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-3-1907

371. TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 2, 1907]

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

ASSOCIATION INFORMED BY RUSTENBURG INDIANS THEIR FINGER-IMPRESSIONS TAKEN BY POLICE AUTHORITIES AND PERMITS EXAMINED. WHILE ASSOCIATION HAS NO OBJECTION TO EXAMINATION OF PERMITS ASSOCIATION RESPECTFULLY PROTESTS AGAINST FINGER-IMPRESSIONS BEING TAKEN. IF INFORMATION RUSTENBURG TRUE ASSOCIATION REQUESTS REASONS FOR TAKING FINGER-IMPRESSIONS AND ASSURANCE OF DISCONTINUANCE PRACTICE.

[BIAS][1]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

[1] British Indian Association

372. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 4, 1907*]

[TO]
THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

The following telegram was addressed to you on Saturday, the 2nd instant:

> Association informed by Rustenburg Indians their finger-impressions taken by police authorities, and permits examined. While Association has no objection to examination of permits, Association respectfully protests against finger-impressions being taken. If information Rustenburg true, Association requests reasons for taking finger-impressions and assurance of discontinuance practice.

My Association has since heard that finger-impressions have been taken at other places in the Transvaal also. I, therefore, venture to request an early reply to the above telegram.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ABDOOL GANI
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

[1] This appeared in *Indian Opinion*, as "From Our Johannesburg Correspondent".

373. TELEGRAM TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 5, 1907]

TO

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
COLONIAL OFFICE
PRETORIA

YOUR TELEGRAM 67 TODAY.[1] ASSOCIATION IS ANXIOUS ABIDE BY AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT WITH LORD MILNER AND DESIRES ASSIST AUTHORITIES EVERY WAY. COMMUNITY FEELS TAKING TEN DIGIT IMPRESSIONS UNNECESSARY DEGRADATION, BUT AGREES TAKING THUMB-IMPRESSIONS FOR SECURING IDENTIFICATION.

IT MAY BE ADDED THAT A STRONGLY-WORDED CIRCULAR LETTER[2] HAS BEEN ADDRESSED TO THE BRANCH COMMITTEES OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION CALLING UPON THEM TO SEE THAT THE FULL TEN DIGIT IMPRESSIONS ARE NOT GIVEN, BUT OTHERWISE TO GIVE ALL ASSISTANCE IN THEIR POWER TO THE AUTHORITIES TO FACILITATE THE INSPECTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF PERMITS AND REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ARRANGEMENT COME TO WITH LORD MILNER.

BIAS

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

[1] The Registrar of Asiatics acknowledged the Association's letter (preceding item) and asked "whether your objection applies to taking of any finger or thumb-impressions or whether objection only raised against taking impressions of the ten digits".

[2] Not available

374. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[Before *March 9, 1907*][1]

[MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,]

I have your two letters. I entirely agree with you. I am glad you have got thirteen pages this time. I am writing to Mr. West to persuade him. I anticipated your objection about the splitting up of letters in Gujarati words. I noticed the defect at Volksrust, where I was yesterday, and then and there wrote to Anandlal.[2] I sent some Gujarati matter and a lot of English from Volksrust. I hope you received both.

I enclose herewith an order for 1,000 handbills to be printed in Dutch and English. The paper may be any size not less than octavo. The English and Dutch should be as written on the enclosed. You should send 1,000 copies of this to Mr. A. E. M. Cachalia, Box 97, Volksrust. Please, also, put him down as a subscriber for Volksrust. You may already have the name for Pretoria also. I have agreed to charge £1 for 1,000 handbills. Of course, the railage will be extra. When the order is ready, you may send him your bill for £1 and subscription. He has promised to send you an advertisement also within a week or so. If he does not send it, you may remind me.

I fear you will have to make some alterations in the Hamidia rules. Mr. Fancy properly drew my attention to the fact that the English rules were more numerous than the Gujarati. You will, therefore, see the changes made by me. I have struck off from 49 to 53 inclusive; 48 has been replaced by another to read the same as the Gujarati, so, also has No. 22. You will see it more fully in the body of the rules which I am sending. Mr. Fancy has made some necessary corrections in the Gujarati matter also, which, too, you should note. You need not then send any further proof, but simply proceed with the printing. I have not gone through the English word for word, but I take it that there are no mistakes of spelling, etc. The [word,] Press, in Gujarati is printed in inverted type. This, of course, should be corrected. With reference to the closet arrangement for Harilal and Dhoribhai, I certainly think that we should dig the trench if we have been doing so for the barrack people. I do not think that we should ask the employees to dig

[1] It is clear from the reference, towards the end of the letter, to Coovadia's advertisement, which appeared regularly in *Indian Opinion* till March 2, 1907 but was then discontinued, that this letter was written before March 9, 1907.

[2] This letter is not available.

their trenches, unless they would do so of their own accord. I felt exactly the same thing as you have. I then argued it out for myself and gave the decision. At the same time if the barrack people have been digging their own trenches, it simply means that you have to get the structure erected and leave Harilal and Dhoribhai to dig the trench. The thing is that, somehow or other, it has got to be done.

I am writing to Mr. Lachiram. I have not heard from Tongaat regarding Gokaldas. I note what you say about the desk for Harilal. The enclosed household account is correct...[1] strike A. Coovadia's name off the list of subscribers and his advertisement, as he is broken. I return the letter.

M. K. Desai's letter with regard to Enavil's business is not to be printed. As a matter of fact, a copy of the same letter was shown by him to me and I told him that the letter could not go in.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosures]

C. K. GANDHI ESQ.
[PHŒNIX]

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 4912

375. "ULTRA VIRES"

In the Natal *Government Gazette* for the 19th February last is published a notice which requires appellants under the Dealers' Licenses Act to deposit a sum of £12.10.0 to cover the travelling expenses of the members of the Board of Council sitting as a Court of Appeal. As it is the unfortunate Indians who have to appeal as a rule, or rather go through the farce of an appeal, this fresh imposition makes their lot harder still and makes attainment of justice prohibitive. We are perilously near to being asked next time to pay the travelling expenses of judges. The rule, however, it seems to us, is clearly *ultra vires.* The section which authorizes the Government to frame regulations empowers them to regulate procedure and to create fresh burdens of an arbitrary nature. We trust the Natal Indian Congress will promptly protest against this rule[2] and in the meanwhile we can safely say that appellants need not deposit the sum required under the notice in question. Indeed,

[1] Here, in the original, part of a line is missing.

[2] The Congress wrote to the Colonial Secretary requesting the withdrawal of the notice but the request was not acceded to. *Vide* "The Dealers' Licenses Act", p. 382.

if we are correctly informed in the recent appeals no such deposits were required or made.

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

376. THOSE FINGER-IMPRESSIONS

Our Johannesburg correspondent draws attention to a very serious state of affairs, if true. It appears that, in spite of the disallowance or suspension of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, the Asiatic Department has been proceeding as if the Ordinance had been allowed. It appears that the authorities have been inspecting permits and registration certificates held by British Indians, and at the same time, taking their ten finger-prints. There appears to be no justification for this high-handed action. We have nothing to say against the examination of permits and registration certificates—indeed, we consider it to be a proper thing, and the only remedy for weeding out of the Colony those British Indians or Asiatics who may have entered it without permits. But examination is one thing, and, under its cover, to call upon British Indians to give their finger-impressions distinctly another. The British Indians have consented to give their thumb-prints as a matter of grace and conciliation. The authorities should be satisfied therewith. Mr. Henry has shown that thumb-prints are, when properly taken, an invaluable test of identification. It is, therefore, a gratuitous insult to offer to the community to take their finger-impressions. We congratulate the British Indian Association on having moved so promptly in the matter. Our correspondent informs us also that the British Indian Association has circularized all the sub-committees warning them against giving finger-impressions, and informing them that there is absolutely no law justifying such a degrading procedure.[1]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

[1] For the substance of the circular, however, *vide* "Telegram to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 353.

377. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 9, 1907]

[TO
THE EDITOR
THE TRANSVAAL LEADER
JOHANNESBURG
SIR,]

Your leading article entitled "Who Rules This Colony?" appearing in today's issue contains a strange series of illogical inferences drawn from an analysis of the Blue book recently published on the British Indian question in the Transvaal. One of these specially needs refutation.

You state that those British Indians who are here should not be indiscriminately admitted to those political rights and privileges they do not enjoy in their own country. My Association has several times pointed out in your columns that the British Indian community of the Transvaal has no intention whatever of claiming, and in fact does not claim, any political rights and privileges at all in this Colony. British Indians simply demand the most elementary of civil rights, which is an entirely different matter.

I trust that you will take an early opportunity of correcting the mis-statement of facts above referred to.

[*I am, etc.,*
ABDUL GANI
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION]

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

378. ENGLISH LIBERALITY

We have often had to write about the oppression we suffer at the hands of Englishmen. We are very glad now to have an occasion for speaking well of them while thinking of the coming restoration of Dutch rule in the Transvaal. The defeat of the Dutch in the war proved English tenacity. The British, even when thrown flat on the ground, do not accept defeat, call it a virtue or a failing. Once the war started, they alone knew how to win it.

The British saw, during the war, that the Dutch were not a people to be easily beaten; they too would not accept defeat. In defeat, the Dutch had truly won. Had they not been just a handful, they could never have been defeated. That was the impression they

made on the British. Moreover, the British were shrewd enough to see that, in declaring war on the Dutch, they were themselves mainly at fault.

The party which had declared and fought the war was defeated at the last election. The Liberals won and they decided to hand over the reins of Government to the Dutch. As a result, General Botha and his colleagues have formed the Transvaal Ministry. Though they are now British subjects in the Transvaal, they are quite free. They will now be able to take into the public services as many Dutchmen as they wish. The air is thick with talk of helping the poor among the Dutch. And the Dutch language has today gained in prestige by fifty per cent. The Dutch are now to be seen in every town and village as before. They are flushed with enthusiasm and are again in high spirits.

No matter what the Dutch have done to us, we ought to congratulate them, considering that they deserve what they have gained. This [attitude] is an outstanding illustration of English liberality. It is a matter of joy for us that we are associated with such a people.

We have a lesson to learn from this. Why do the Dutch and the British both hate us? We believe the root cause is not the colour of our skin, but our general cowardice, our unmanliness and our pusillanimity. They will begin to respect us the moment we impress upon them that we can stand up to them. There is no need actually to fight, but courage is necessary. If a man kicks us, we take it lying down. He therefore thinks that we deserve nothing better. This is the cowardice in us. There is a kind of courage in receiving a blow without returning it; but we are not speaking of that courage here. We receive kicks passively out of fear.

Making a false show of youthfulness, we waste our manhood in sensual pleasures and abuse our womenfolk. Without understanding the true significance of marriage, we remain blindly absorbed in carnal enjoyment. This is an example of our unmanliness.

In the Cape, we give our photographs [for proving our identity]. In Rustenburg and Boksburg, out of fear, we give our finger-prints. Instead of entering the Transvaal openly and boldly, some of us do so wrongfully and surreptitiously. This shows our pusillanimity.

We are well aware that these comments do not apply to all of us. But the whole community has to suffer for such conduct on the part of a few. That is the state we are in, and, we believe, we shall get out of it soon if, instead of finding fault with the British, we realize our own faults. For the British who have today handed over the reins of Government to the Dutch will likewise give us our due.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

379. WARNING TO TRANSVAAL INDIANS

It is shameful of the Rustenburg Indians to have surrendered their freedom by giving their full hand-prints. As the Gujarati proverb says, so long as the axe does not have a wooden handle to it, it cannot cut wood. Rustenburg has served as the handle by starting the giving of finger-prints. If, as a result, the Indian community comes to harm, the blame will be with the Rustenburg Indians. We are glad to find that prompt action has been taken by the British Indian Association.[1] It is well that it has lodged a protest with the Government whose action appears to be totally illegal. It is also a good thing that the Association has addressed letters to the Indian committees in all the towns.[2]

This instance shows that the Transvaal Indians have to act with great caution. Whatever steps are taken now should be taken in concert and in consultation with the Association. Nothing need be done out of fear of the officials. Why, and of whom, should we be afraid? When brave women are fighting for their rights in England, it should not be too much for the Transvaal Indians to fight with common courage.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

380. HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN EGYPT

Messages in the papers indicate that an agitation for Home Rule is going on in Egypt. Large meetings are being held and resolutions passed by the Egyptians in order to gain political power by driving out Lord Cromer[3]. Writing strongly on the subject, the London *Times* says that the movement should be suppressed. We do not believe it likely that it can be stopped thus. There are some brave persons among the Egyptians; and education is widespread. If the movement continues long enough, we believe that the British will grant self-government to the Egyptians. In keeping with British traditions it has first to be shown that people who make demands are prepared to die for them.

[1] *Vide* telegrams to Registrar of Asiatics, p. 351 and p. 353.

[2] These are not available.

[3] First Earl of Cromer, (1841-1917); British Comptroller-General in Egypt, 1883-1907

It is not enough to go on making verbal demands. The British follow this rule in their own country and that is how they endure.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

381. LICENCE CASE

The Indian licence case of Port Shepstone which has been decided by the Supreme Court appears to be a discomfiture for us. Yet, we need not get into a panic on that account. We can use the case to convince the [Imperial] Government that, under the licensing act, the Indian community can never get justice. Success in Mr. Goga's case[1] was just fortuitous. The danger will remain so long as courts of law do not deal out pure justice. Mr. Ramsay Collins has shown that the Town Councils are not capable of doing justice. We are not enamoured of the Supreme Court, but we want the right to appeal to that Court only because we know that we can get justice there. If the Europeans oppose this, it only means that they fear justice. In this matter the real campaign is to be waged through the Imperial Government. We are convinced of the need to work for a solution at both levels bearing in mind that we may not succeed. We are of the opinion that, as long as the Imperial Government does not exercise control or exert pressure over the local governments, we shall not succeed, nor can we win their favour. We should bear this in mind and work at both ends.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

382. JAMES GODFREY

Mr. James Godfrey who went to England for his education has now returned a barrister-at-law. We congratulate him and extend to him a cordial welcome. It is a day of joy for his parents and a proud day for the Indian community.

There will be very few parents in South Africa who have had the courage to take the risks which the Godfreys have taken for their children. They have used all their property to give their sons and daughters a very good education. If other Indian parents were to follow this example in large numbers, the bonds that bind the Indian community would soon break. All of us admit the pressing need for education, but we are slow in acting on the belief.

[1] *Vide* "Goga's Licence", p. 345.

Though Mr. James Godfrey has finished his academic education, he will start his [real] education only now. Education is just a means. If it is not accompanied by truthfulness, firmness, patience and other virtues, it remains sterile, and sometimes does harm instead of good. The object of education is not to be able to earn money, but to improve oneself and to serve the country. If this object is not realized, it must be taken that the money spent on education has been wasted. We hope Mr. James Godfrey will put his education to good use and pass on the benefit of his learning to the Indian community.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

383. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Permit Law

The authorities seem to have begun the examination of permits in every town. Not only were the permits of Rustenburg Indians examined, but the police made them give their finger-prints also. After the finger-prints had been taken, the Rustenburg Indians referred the matter to the Association and were told that none of them should have given finger-prints. The giving of finger-prints has done no good. It is likely that the authorities will cite this instance of some Indians who gave finger-prints and argue that the Indian community had no objection to giving finger-prints. The British Indian Association has written letters to every town saying that the permits and the registers may both be produced for inspection on demand; that the authorities may be assisted in their work of scrutiny and all information required by them supplied; that thumb-impressions may be given if required, but that any further demand may be unequivocally refused and the Association informed that the authorities demand finger-prints. All Indians must bear these four points in mind.

A telegram[1] has been sent to the Government saying that the people regard it an outrage that finger-prints should have been taken at Rustenburg. The question has been asked on whose orders the prints were taken and whether or not the practice would be discontinued. The Transvaal Indians should take care that they do not get caught in the net that the authorities spread for them.

In reply to the Association's telegram, the authorities have inquired whether the objection is only to giving the impressions of all the fingers or if it extends to the thumb-impression also. In its reply[2] the Association

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 351.

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 353.

has stated that, in accordance with the understanding with Lord Milner, it has no objection to Indians giving the thumb-impression for obtaining permits. The Association intends to assist the Government in the scrutiny of permits, but cannot agree about the giving of the ten finger-prints as this needlessly humiliates the Indian community.

TRANSVAAL PERMITS

Last week I wrote about the notice regarding persons staying in the Transvaal without permits,[1] In answer to an enquiry by the British Indian Association, Mr. Chamney has replied that those persons in the Transvaal who hold the old Dutch certificates will have permits issued to them up to March 31, and that all those who continue to live in the Transvaal after that date without permits will be prosecuted. From this it is not to be inferred that a permit will necessarily be issued to anyone who holds the Dutch certificate. These persons will have to produce evidence to the effect that the Dutch certificate belongs to the holder, and the holder was in the Transvaal immediately before the outbreak of the war and left the Colony because of it.

Every Indian resident in the Transvaal who possesses such evidence should take out a permit as soon as practicable. But it should be remembered that, unless the applicant is granted a permit, he is not to surrender his register.

TRANSVAAL RULERS

General Botha has now completed the formation of his Ministry. He has himself become Prime Minister; General Smuts has become the Colonial Secretary. Mr. De Villiers heads the Departments of Justice and of Mines. Mr. Hull is in charge of the Treasury, Mr. Rissick is the Minister for African Affairs and Mr. E. P. Solomon, the Head of the Public [Works?] Department. Sir Richard Solomon has declined to accept any office. Among the ministers, the Indian community will have to do mostly with Mr. De Villiers and Mr. Smuts. It now remains to be seen what course things will take.

RULES FOR ASIATIC BAZAARS

The current number of the *Government Gazette* carries regulations governing Locations. It appears that the idea of Locations has not yet been given up. The object in publishing these regulations seems to be to keep alive a separate Asiatic Department anyhow.

AMOD SALEJI COOVADIA

Mr. Amod Saleji Coovadia, a member of the British Indian Association and the Hamidia Islamic Society and also a trustee of the Surati

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 342.

mosque, left here on Sunday on his way home. Mr. Amod Saleji took a notable part in the fight against the Ordinance. Dinners were given in his honour by Messrs Mamad Mamdu, M .P. Fancy, Bhanabhai, Essop Mian, Musa Dauji Karim, Gulam Mahomed Kadodia and others. Mr. Fancy presented him with a gold locket and other articles. He was also honoured and garlanded at the Surati mosque on Friday. Mr. Amod Saleji came to South Africa 22 years ago and is now forty-two years old. He is visiting India after ten years. Mr. Saleji is expected to leave Durban Port on March 20. It will take him nearly ten days to reach Durban from Johannesburg as on his way he will stop at many places which he has been invited to visit.

FOR INFORMATION OF BARBERTON INDIANS

The British Indian Association has received a communication from the Government about the Barberton Location. It says that the Location will be made over to the municipality and that a 21-year lease can be taken out from that body.

INCREASE IN SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE'S EXPENDITURE

Last Sunday a meeting of the British Indian Association and the Anti-Indian-Law Fund Committee took place at the residence of Haji Ojer Ally. Many members were present. The Committee unanimously resolved to increase to £15 the nominal monthly honorarium that is being paid to Mr. Ritch and to remit an additional sum of £100 for the purpose. It is a fact that there has thus been an addition of £100 to the sum of £300 originally fixed for remission to the Committee. It will be difficult to secure a full-time worker as capable even on a salary of £30. If Mr. Ritch had been well to do, he would not have cared to accept even this honorarium. Every week we hear of his activities.

GENERAL BOTHA

General Botha has been invited by Lord Elgin to attend the Colonial Conference. It is said that, if General Botha accepts the invitation, the British will welcome him heartily.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-3-1907

384. THE MASS MEETING

The Natal Indians met on Monday[1] night in large numbers to consider the question of traders' licences and the municipal franchise. The meeting seems to have been the largest on record. *The Advertiser* calls it "a record gathering, both in regard to the size of the audience and its enthusiasm". Delegates attended from all parts of the Colony and perfect unanimity prevailed. We congratulate the indefatigable Secretaries of the Congress on the admirable manner in which they organized the meeting.

The studiously moderate address of the chairman of the meeting and the array of facts presented by him should disarm all opposition. Nothing could be fairer than the compromise offered by him on the intricate trading question. Indeed Mr. Dawad Mahomed showed that he claimed for the Indian traders nothing more than what the reasonably-minded colonists have admitted they are entitled to at the very least. The first resolution[2] adopted by the meeting put in a concrete form the grievance of the community regarding the Licenses Act. There can be no doubt that nothing less than an amendment of the present Act will satisfactorily meet the difficulty.

The second resolution[3] was the outcome of the recent licensing cases. The contention of the Indian community is that, if with the possession of the municipal franchise by the Indian community, Indians have laboured under gross injustice at the hands of the municipal bodies, how much worse must the position become if the community is deprived of the municipal franchise. The meeting, therefore, emphasized the necessity for protecting British Indian rate-payers of Natal against the attempt to deprive them of the right to elect municipal councillors.

The two resolutions form a complete answer to the Colonial Patriotic Union[4] and show how necessary it is for the heads of the two communities to meet together and evolve a workable compromise. Let us hope that Mr. Poynton, who we believe is a moderate man, will consider our proposal and win the esteem of the colonists by paving the way to a real

[1] March 11

[2] The first resolution protested against the manner of enforcement of the Dealers' Licenses Act and requested the intervention of the local and Imperial Governments; it further demanded that the Act should be "so changed as to safeguard vested rights".

[3] The second resolution requested the Imperial Government to "safeguard the right of British Indian rate-payers to vote at the municipal elections". The Natal Municipal Bill proposed the disfranchisement of British Indians at municipal elections.

[4] *Vide* Vol. II, p. 83 *f.n.*

settlement of the thorny question of Indian immigration and Indian competition.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

385. LORD SELBORNE'S DESPATCH

Lord Selborne's despatch to Lord Elgin on the anti-Asiatic Ordinance of the Transvaal has now been received. We regret to have to say that, in spite of His Excellency's usual fairness, he has throughout the despatch shown himself as a partisan rather than an unprejudiced administrator and representative of the Sovereign.

We will deal for the present with the alleged influx of unauthorized Asiatics into the Transvaal. We must unhesitatingly say that His Excellency has not produced a particle of evidence in support of the statement so repeatedly challenged by the Indian community of the Transvaal. The evidence referred to by Lord Selborne is the report made by Mr. Burgess as to his examination of Indian passengers at the Coast. It shows at best nothing more than that some Indians attempt to enter the Transvaal on permits not their own, and that such attempt is successfully arrested in its progress, even before Indians making the attempt have reached the Transvaal border. Now the attempt on the part of individual Indians to effect an entry into the Transvaal without lawful authority has never been denied. There is, however, no warrant for the inference, based on such attempts, that there is any successful entry. As to the allegation of "an organized agency trafficking in permits", there is not a tittle of evidence produced beyond undisclosed circumstances which have come to his (the Coast Agent's) knowledge. It is now the clear duty of the British Indian Association to call for the production of the evidence on which the statement is founded. Till then, the case for the introduction of the Ordinance remains "unproven".

Notwithstanding the fact, we find *The Transvaal Leader* basing an inflammatory article on Lord Selborne's despatch. *The Leader* gravely asks whether British Indians are to rule South Africa or the white men. And all this because Lord Elgin has dared to do justice in the teeth of official opposition. *The Leader* then goes on furiously to urge that any such attempt on the part of British Indians to rule South Africa should be resisted, if need be, by the shedding of blood. We may, however, assure *The Leader* that no such heroic measures will be necessary, seeing that British Indians have no ambition to rule. We would ask our contemporary to peruse the statement[1] presented by the Deputation to Lord Elgin and

[1] *Vide* "Representation to Lord Elgin", pp. 45-54.

we promise that it will show why it was that Lord Elgin vetoed the Ordinance.

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

386. MASS MEETING IN NATAL

We print elsewhere a report[1] of the mass meeting at Durban, to which we invite the attention of all our readers. That such a large meeting was held and attended by delegates from different places is evidence of the earnestness and energy of the Congress Secretaries. The resolutions passed at the meeting are bound to have some effect on the Imperial Government as also on the local Government. But we must sound a note of warning that the effect produced so far will disappear if we do not follow up the resolutions with appropriate action, and we shall then be falling from the flame into the fire.[2]

Such meetings have always to be followed up with much work. In pursuance of these resolutions we shall have to write letters to the Government and trouble them again and again. We may even have to send telegrams. All this work will cost money. We should remember that the Congress has no money now. All the money has been borrowed from banks. It is difficult to organize a big struggle in these circumstances. Therefore the first need is to collect money.

The second thing is to remember Mr. Peeran Mahomed's warning. As long as we do not learn to keep our houses clean, we are bound to suffer. That means that, if we want any good to come out of such big meetings, we must reform ourselves.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

387. "INDIAN OPINION"

Some well-wishers have suggested that the Gujarati section should be expanded. They believe that people have begun to realize the value of *Indian Opinion* and its services. We have accepted the suggestion and added some pages in this issue itself, and from now on we shall have thirteen instead of twelve pages [of Gujarati]. We hope that this increase in size will be appreciated. We must, however, point out that *Indian Opinion* is not yet in a position even to pay full wages to its workers. It is

[1] *Vide* "The Mass Meeting", pp. 364-5.

[2] The original has "from *ula* (ઉલા) to *chula* (ચૂલા)".

only because they have some patriotic fervour that the journal continues to come out.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

388. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Ordinance Blue book

The Blue book containing the correspondence that passed between Lord Selborne and Lord Elgin regarding the Ordinance has now been received. It shows that Lord Elgin, who had heard only one side of the case, had at first approved the Ordinance, but his eyes were opened after he had heard the Deputation that visited England, and then he refused it [Royal] assent.

Lord Selborne, however, sticks to his earlier position and says in his reply that his hands have been weakened by Lord Elgin listening to the Deputation.

Among the reasons for passing the Ordinance, Lord Selborne mentions many Indians entering without permits. In support he quotes the report of Mr. Burgess, which says that he had personally seen several Indians holding false permits and that some had even erased the thumb-impressions on them. Even if some of these statements are true, it only shows that people are not able to enter wrongfully and that those attempting to do so can in fact be stopped. There are some more points worth noticing in Lord Selborne's letter, which we shall see later.

Commenting on this Blue book, *The Leader* and *The Star* say that, whatever the situation may be, the Indians will be registered. *The Leader* goes so far as to say that the whites will even fight to achieve their object. The Association is preparing to reply to the statements in the Blue book.

Permit Cases

Cases of possession of false permits occur occasionally in Johannesburg. Some persons were arrested recently, and are being served with notices to leave the Colony. It is because people enter in this manner that the other Indians have to suffer so much hardship.

General Botha and His Ministry

The residents of Pretoria gave a dinner to General Botha and his cabinet colleagues. Many prominent persons attended it. In his speech General Botha thanked the British and acknowledged that they had been very liberal in handing over the reins of Government to the Boers. As a result, the Dutch would remain loyal subjects of King Edward. The

General further said that the Transvaal had been very much in the public eye, but that the people should let bygones be bygones and give the country a respite so that measures to promote its prosperity could be undertaken. The Boers wished to live happily and allow others to do likewise. They would treat the Kaffirs justly and would not harass the mine-owners. The Dutch and the British, as indeed the Dutch and English languages, were equal in his eyes.

This speech was generous and conciliatory. If it is lived up to, every one will be able to live happily under the Dutch regime.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 16-3-1907

389. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 18, 1907*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am sending you today some sheets of the *Ramayana*[2]. The figures on the left indicate page numbers. You may go through them if you find the time. I went over them last night and found the selection quite satisfactory. However, you may write to me if you have any suggestion to make.

While reading the proofs, compare them with the original book. Do not depend for spelling, etc., on the copy sent by me. Please send me the proofs before printing. Printing has to be done after deciding about the *format*, etc., of the book. And I believe it is desirable to print off after composing as much material as we have types for. Types necessary for job work, etc., should be kept apart. I shall send the rest of the *Ramayana* in small instalments.

I think a thousand copies should be printed.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[Enclosure]

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4720

[1] The noting on the letter shows that it was received on March 18.
[2] Presumably, a selection from Tulsidas's *Ramacharitamanasa*

390. TELEGRAM TO "INDIAN OPINION"[1]

[Between *March 18* and *25, 1907*]

TO
OPINION
PHŒNIX

DO NOT PRINT HAMIDIA WEEKLY REPORT THIS TIME SENT YESTERDAY IMPORTANT ENGLISH GUJARATI NOTES.

GANDHI

From the handwritten office copy: S. N. 4721

391. TELEGRAM TO J. S. WYLIE[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 22, 1907]

[J. S. WYLIE
DURBAN]

I CONCUR ENTIRELY IN YOUR ADVICE TO DAWAD AND OTHERS.

[GANDHI]

The Natal Mercury, 27-3-1907

[1] The telegram carries no date. Its placing in the chronological order rests solely on the evidence of the serial numbers of Sabarmati documents, which in turn were largely determined by the original order of papers in Gandhiji's files.

[2] Two thousand Indians were waiting to leave for Lobito Bay to work on the proposed Benguella Railway. The sanction of the Indian Government was awaited. In the meanwhile, the railway contractors had given an undertaking to the Natal Government that Indian labour would be well treated and returned to Natal or India on the expiry of the engagement. The officials of the Natal Indian Congress had arrived to attend a mass meeting of Indians to be held on March 22. Mr. Wylie then sent the following telegram to Gandhiji at Johannesburg: "Mass meeting being held at noon today of Indians who are anxious to leave Natal for Lobito Bay, but cannot get away. Dawad Mahomed, Peeran Omar, and Anglia have been to me to know what attitude, if any, they should take up. Before advising or acting, I should like to know your opinion. My advice is they should not interfere in meeting in any way meantime; but might be present to see what actually takes place. Please wire reply immediately." The telegram above was Gandhiji's reply. The concurrence of the Indian Government in the proposal was announced at the meeting.

392. ASIATIC LAW AMENDMENT ORDINANCE

The Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance has re-appeared as a draft Bill to amend Law 3 of 1885 and has already passed the third reading in the Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal.[1] With the exception of the necessary verbal alteration, it is an exact replica of the original Ordinance. We congratulate the authors of the anti-Asiatic agitation in the Transvaal on their success in bringing the matter again to the fore, and on their phenomenal activity. The latter is worthy of imitation by British Indians. We frankly confess that we welcome the draft Bill as a challenge to British Indians in the Transvaal. They have to show of what stuff they are made. No new argument need now be advanced. There is no further argument left. The draft Bill will test the power of the Imperial Government to protect, and the ability of the Indian community to enforce, the famous resolution[2] regarding "passive resistance", as *The Star* described it.

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

393. THE MALAY LOCATION

The Johannesburg Town Council, as will be seen from our news columns, will very shortly receive title to the Malay Location. One of the conditions of the grant will be that the Town Council will have to compensate the inhabitants for the buildings erected by them and to find other Stands in lieu of those now occupied. At first sight, the provision seems to be equitable. But further consideration will reveal the fact that compensation does not include any payment in respect of the tenure or loss of rents, and so far as the present intentions of the Council are known, the giving of Stands means removal to Klipspruit. Stand-holders in the Malay Location, though, strictly speaking, only monthly squatters, were, up to the outbreak of war, at least as safe in their possession of Stands as the burghers of Vrededorp who occupied the Stands precisely on the same terms as the residents of the Malay Location. When, therefore, we compare the handsome treatment meted out to the burghers with the treatment that is likely to be the lot of the residents of the Malay Location under the Government grant, we realize fully what the possession of a brown skin means. If the Coloured people cannot show a legal title to anything they enjoyed during the Boer regime, their equitable right, no matter how strong,

[1] The new law was termed the Asiatic Registration Act. Gandhiji, however, continues to refer to it as the Ordinance.

[2] Fourth Resolution; *vide* Vol. V, p. 423.

receives short shrift under the changed conditions. Will Lord Selborne once more maintain that the change from the Republican to the British flag necessitates a partial robbery of the rights of the residents of the Malay Location? For the paltry compensation that the Stand-holders will receive for the buildings can ill repay them for years of undisturbed occupation which enables many a holder to derive a handsome income from rents paid by sub-tenants and which is their means of livelihood. And to add force to our argument, let us for the hundredth time recall the fact that every attempt made by the late President Kruger to remove the inhabitants of the Location not thirteen miles from Johannesburg, but five miles, was successfully resisted by their late advocates, the representatives of the British Crown in the Transvaal.

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

394. SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE

We suggest that all our readers carefully read Mr. Ritch's letter this week. The work done by him, and through him by the British Committee, has been invaluable. He has been working with great enthusiasm and tact. We shall owe it to Mr. Ritch and the South Africa British Indian Committee if the Natal Municipal Bill is dropped, if the Vrededorp Indians receive compensation and if relief is secured at last from the oppressive Natal Licenses Act. Mr. Ritch will not be able to work without the Committee, and without Mr. Ritch, the Committee cannot do much. There is at present no one in London who can replace Mr. Ritch for vigilance and ability. Sir Muncherji and our other well-wishers do all they can to help us but not much can be done unless there is an able Secretary to bring them all together and to work under their guidance. Almost weekly we see from Reuter's cables that the Committee is active. Last week the news was received that, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the mass meeting [in Durban], the Committee had written strongly to Lord Elgin. This week we find that a debate was initiated by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords. The report and cablegrams printed elsewhere in this issue will show that, in the House of Commons too, questions were asked and answered about our grievances. We owe all this to the efforts of the Committee and Mr. Ritch. It is clear that they have been making considerable effort. How is the Committee to continue and do more work? Mr. Ritch has himself supplied the answer. He writes that £250 a year will not suffice. We have published elsewhere the accounts submitted by him showing how the money is spent. Mr. Ritch had been drawing £25 per quarter, but the Committee has

permitted him to draw £45, as £25 was not enough to meet even the deficit in his domestic budget. What is paid to Mr. Ritch is not a salary. The market value of his work cannot be less than £30 a month. He does not seek money nor does he work for it. He works because he feels [for the Indians in South Africa]. If his condition permitted it, he would not accept even a penny.

Among the Committee's expenses we see payments of £180 to Mr. Ritch, £50 to a paid employee and £50 as rent for the office. Thus salaries and rent took away £280, leaving £20, which was too little to meet the Committee's other expenses. Even after we remit £50, the balance of the promised £300, the expenses will not be fully met. The Anti-Indian-Law Fund Committee has resolved to send £100 more. But we feel that it is absolutely necessary to spend up to £500 in England. Expenses on this scale will, it appears, have to be maintained over two or three years. If compensation is paid to the Vrededorp Indians, we can recover more than £500 from that [amount] alone. Our expenses in England will be repaid a hundred times over if our traders can survive in Natal. The attack on the inhabitants of the Malay Location continues. If they can be successfully defended, that also will be a good return. We therefore specifically appeal to all our readers to make the requisite effort to maintain the Committee. The Natal Indian Congress has contributed £125. Out of the £50 yet to be sent, the Congress should pay £25. And just as the Transvaal has decided to contribute an additional £100, so must Natal too. That is the duty of the Congress. The Committee will be able to do its best only if money is remitted in this manner.

At present there is little likelihood of any help coming from the Cape, though efforts are being made. Our request to the Indians in the Cape is that, if it is not possible for them to send a collective contribution, individuals may send us whatever they can. We shall pass on the money, as from them, to the Committee. Even if the Cape Indians consider their own position relatively safe, they should share in their countrymen's adversities elsewhere.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

395. NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

The Natal Indian Congress did very well in holding the mass meeting.[1] We can see from Reuter's cablegram that the Committee has acted promptly on the resolutions passed at the meeting, and written strongly to Lord Elgin. We congratulate the Congress Secretaries.

The Secretary and the Chairman of a body are regarded as its guardians. The enthusiasm they displayed at the mass meeting they should evince in equal measure in the matter of funds for the Congress. The present position of the Congress is so bad that it has been obliged to take an overdraft from the bank. For this Messrs Dawad Mahomed and Omar Haji Amod have furnished personal guarantees. It was very good of them to do so, but the Congress cannot function for long on overdrafts.

The work on licences is a huge task and a great deal of money will have to be spent on it. To get the [Dealers'] Licenses Act changed will require considerable effort as well as money. The Congress, therefore, ought immediately to collect funds for the struggle over the licences and the municipal bills. Delay in this respect, we feel, will only mean repentance later.

We understand that the Congress has started raising contributions. We advise every patriotic Indian to help the Congress promptly and to the best of his ability.

To the Secretary and the Chairman we have to say that their first duty as guardians of the Congress is to place its finances on a sound footing. We are sure that a month's enthusiastic effort on their part will place the Congress in a comfortable position.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

396. MALARIA AND DUTY OF INDIANS

Malaria is taking a heavy toll in the neighbourhood of Durban. It is said that nearly three hundred Indians have been buried on the other side of Umgeni. The Corporation has started distributing quinine free of charge. One philanthropic European has undertaken to supply medicine to all patients. Many Indians have availed themselves of his offer.

[1] *Vide* "The Mass Meeting", pp. 364-5.

At this juncture the Indian community should not lag behind. We think it necessary that the leaders should come out, and go from place to place making inquiries about the victims of the disease and also arrange for their treatment. People should be persuaded to maintain cleanliness and not let water stagnate in the vicinity. The Congress should write to Dr. Murison for help. We believe that it is the duty of Dr. Nanji to come forward at this time and give medical aid to patients. If he does so, Indians will have much relief and he will be able to do them a lot of good.

For the guidance of those who wish to help, we make the following suggestions : 1. simple food for the patient; 2. quinine as prescribed by the physician; 3. ensuring proper bowel movement; 4. removing vegetation, if any, from the neighbourhood; 5. draining of swamps, if any; 6. advising people to use mosquito-nets where possible; 7. the avoidance of overcrowding; 8. cleanliness of latrines, and night-soil to be covered with dry earth or ash.

These suggestions are very easy to carry out. It has been found that a malarious region becomes free from disease as soon as the land in the neighbourhood is drained.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

397. PERMIT DEPARTMENT

The report of the Volksrust permit case which we print elsewhere is worth reading. The case of Shaikh Inas also brings out many things. It is interesting to know how far Mr. Burgess interferes in Durban. Not only does he examine those without permits but even others who have them. It is quite evident that this procedure is improper. For earlier when the person concerned appeared in court, the magistrate found his case in order, held his permit to be valid and acquitted him. Yet Lord Selborne relies on Mr. Burgess's report and has made out that many persons come in with forged permits or none at all.

The case of Abdul Rehman is equally important. He will produce witnesses who know him, and thus have himself acquitted. But he would not have been able to come in either, if Mr. Burgess had had his way.

We feel that, if the Natal Indian Congress makes some effort in this matter, it can secure redress. This kind of thing is happening in Durban, and hence it is within the purview of the Congress. It can ask Mr. Smith and the Natal Government under what authority they carry out searches on board steamers.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

398. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Spectator is one of the famous journals published in Britain today. Prince Tiano is a great Italian writer and has studied Eastern languages. At present he is writing a history of Islam and intends to publish it in twelve parts. The first part has already been published. It is priced at £1.12.0 and runs into 740 pages of a large size. A review of this book has appeared in *The Spectator* of December 22, of which we give a summary below:

> Prince Tiano gives in the first part the history of the first six years of the Prophet's life, in which we see the Prophet as a statesman, law-maker and general. His power was growing from day to day. The Jews opposed him strongly, but the Prophet broke their power. Though there was not much pomp and splendour about him, his power was very great. What he did, no other religious teacher has done. He started preaching after the age of forty. His was not a struggle for self-interest, but for the good of others. At the time of his death he was the head of a theocratic state. He established a religion which came to enjoy world-wide allegiance, thanks to his greatness and sense of justice. He gave the Arabs a practical knowledge of world affairs, which they had lacked. He moulded them into a single people and made them doughty fighters. He ruled over different peoples; and today, though Muslims live under different governments, they believe in one God and His Prophet and maintain fraternal relations with others of the same faith. What the nature of this brotherhood is and what the Muslim community can do in the modern world has to be considered whenever we think of the pan-Islamic movement.

The foregoing is just a summary. We have omitted a considerable portion which is critical. But we would advise those who know English to read the whole article.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

399. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

General Botha

General Botha's name is on everybody's lips here. Everywhere the reaction to his speech has been very good. *The Times* has written favourably of it and rates him very highly. Others too could have said what General Botha did. But the British have a special affection for one who speaks generously after having proved his valour in battle. The lesson for us is that the Indian community too should show courage.

A move is afoot here to give a dinner to General Botha and his colleagues in the Ministry as was done at Pretoria. It is said that the dinner will be at the Carlton Hotel on the 23rd.

General Botha is to go to England to attend the [Colonial] Conference. We have suggested to our Committee in London that they should meet him and put our case before him.

Transvaal Parliament

The Transvaal parliament is meeting on the 21st. Every one is anxious to know what it will do. The parliament will not be in session for long, and will adjourn after a sitting of two or three days only.

Railway Hardships

The difficulties on the railways still continue. Mr. Osman Latief has addressed a letter to the Manager about the inconvenience he had to undergo. Correspondence is still going on between the Association and the General Manager over the right of Indians to travel by the morning and evening trains between Pretoria and Johannesburg. The Manager has replied that the existing rules cannot be changed, whereupon the Association has pointed out that the arrangement agreed upon was temporary, that it had resulted in much hardship, and hence the repealing of the provision preventing Indians from travelling by these trains is a felt need.

Delagoa Bay Railway

There has been a serious accident on the Delagoa Bay Railway. Many passengers lost their lives in a landslide. One of them was Dr. Jameson, a former Minister for Lands. He retired when the new Ministry was formed, and was proceeding to England. True to the saying "Man proposes, but God disposes", Dr. Jameson died in this accident before reaching England. His body was taken back to Pretoria and buried there.

On the Accident

The accident gives rise to many reflections. Others died besides Dr. Jameson. Some were injured. Again, two hundred lives were lost when a French man-of-war was wrecked near Toulon. Incidents such as these are constantly taking place but, intoxicated with this world of affairs, we see nothing. As children, we read [in Gujarati]

Know, O Man, know thy mind
And be afraid of death.
Beware of the destined hour
To ashes thou shalt turn.

We live on in the world as if we had come here with a charter of immortality; and as the Gujarati proverb goes, we go on killing buffaloes for shoe-laces. But if we reflect seriously and look at things calmly, we realize that all is done in vain which is not done for others' good. If every minute, hour and day given to us is spent in good deeds, in patriotic service and in maintaining truth, we shall have nothing to fear even when death strikes us down. Only a person who risks his life can fetch pearls from the depths of the sea. Similarly, from the ocean of life we have to seek out tasks precious like pearls. He alone who does not care for his life can do this. If our actions are effeminate, we cannot remain manly. Lord Selborne has made a biting remark that we are base and in the face of the least danger we think of bribing the officials. We can refute this charge only if we have true spirit within us.

Giving of Finger-prints

That this was started at Rustenburg I have already mentioned.[1] Now the Association has received a letter from the Rustenburg Committee saying that the paper on which the finger-prints of some people were obtained at the instance of the Committee has been burnt. For this Rustenburg deserves our congratulations. Indians in other places should heed this warning and not give the ten finger-impressions under any circumstances.

Vrededorp Ordinance

It has been suggested by the Johannesburg municipality that the Vrededorp Ordinance may be put into effect from July 1. Meanwhile, the South Africa British Indian Committee has been active about obtaining compensation.

Malay Location

On the subject of handing over the Malay Location to the Johannesburg Town Council, the Government have written that, as soon as

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 361.

it agrees to certain conditions, it will be granted a permanent lease. One of the conditions is that, should the Council evict the residents of the Malay Location, it should provide suitable Stands elsewhere for the evicted and also pay compensation, as determined by a tribunal, for buildings already erected by them in the Location.

This means that the inhabitants of the Malay Location will not be compensated for their right to the Stands which, for many years now, they have believed to be theirs; only the present value of the structures will be paid. That is to say, the payment will vary from £50 to £150. The Malay Location Committee should start an agitation from today. It is probable that the agreement between the Government and the Council will soon be signed.

PERMITS

Only a few days now remain for those persons who are now resident in the Transvaal, hold old registers but had left the territory just before the war, to apply for new permits. It should be remembered that, after March 31, no applications will be entertained.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

400. ASIATIC LAW AMENDMENT ORDINANCE

This Ordinance is about to be enacted again in the Transvaal parliament. Almost word for word it is identical with the Ordinance which was cancelled. We here have an instance of the tenacity of the Europeans. Whatever they undertake they see through. With us the first flush of heroism is seen to die away soon. This is a time of real test. If the Transvaal Indians are prepared to go to gaol, they have nothing to fear. We cannot say whether the Imperial Government will cancel this Ordinance or not. We would suggest that every Indian male should call to mind, on this occasion, the great deeds of British women. Action is more necessary than talk.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-3-1907

401. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
March 23, 1907

[TO]
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

BRITISH INDIANS STAGGERED OVER PASSAGE ASIATIC BILL DURING TWO SITTINGS TRANSVAAL PARLIAMENT. GAZETTED NINETEENTH, NO OPPORTUNITY GIVEN COMMUNITY BEING HEARD BEFORE PARLIAMENT. ALLEGATION CONTINUED ILLEGAL INFLUX TOTALLY DENIED AND REMAINS UNPROVED. UNDERLYING QUESTION IS THAT OF INDIAN STATUS WITHIN EMPIRE SUCH ALSO PRESS OPINION. TRUST COMMITTEE WILL SAVE INDIANS IMPENDING DEGRADATION.

[BIAS]

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

402. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

[JOHANNESBURG,]
March 25, 1907

DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

I am obliged to you for your letter regarding Dr. Oldfield's contributions. I write this to request your very active interest in the matter of the Ordinance, which has been re-introduced in the new parliament. I venture to think that the matter has not been discussed in *India*, as it might be. The result will be that it will not be thoroughly dealt with by the publicists in India.

I had a letter from Mr. Frazer of *The Times of India* saying that, if the idea of a special committee for this purpose were taken up, he would gladly co-operate. If you could kindly suggest to public men in India the desirability of forming such a committee, I think that it will be taken up.

[1] This was forwarded by L. W. Ritch, along with his letter dated March 25, to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, London. *Vide* also "Cable to Lord Elgin", p. 389.

I have written to the Secretary of the South Africa British Indian Committee suggesting that a deputation should meet General Botha, and discuss this question.[1]

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.
[ENGLAND]

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G. N. 2779. 2

403. LETTER TO DADABHAI NAOROJI

JOHANNESBURG,
March 25, 1907

DEAR MR. NAOROJI,

I beg to enclose herewith for your perusal copy of my letter[2] to Sir William. I do think that *India* should, from week to week, prominently discuss this matter. Whatever is done in the Transvaal will be followed throughout the Colonies, and, if the principle of degrading racial legislation that underlies the Ordinance is once accepted, there will be an end to Indian immigration.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosure]
DADABHAI NAOROJI, ESQ.
22, KENNINGTON ROAD
LONDON, S.E.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G. N. 2779. 1

404. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
March 25, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

Each week you will be glad to learn we run short of *Indian Opinion*. Today, if you had sent 100 copies, they would have gone. I think, therefore, it would perhaps be as well to send here next week 200 copies, because there is bound to be a very great demand. You may also send about 2 dozen copies of the current issue. I have instructed Hemchand to accept

[1] This letter is not available.
[2] Preceding item

payment from those who may come here on the promise of supplying them with a copy. If they cannot be sold, I will keep them. You will, of course, take care for the present to print one or two hundred extra copies over and above the copies requisitioned. The two hundred copies for next week must be included in the requisition.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 4724

405. RESOLUTIONS AT TRANSVAAL INDIAN MASS MEETING[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 29, 1907]

[Resolution 1][2] This meeting of British Indians, convened under the auspices of the British Indian Association, hereby respectfully protests against the passage of the Asiatic Law Amendment Bill by the new Transvaal Parliament, in that the Bill is unnecessary and degrading to the British Indian community.

[Resolution 2][3] This meeting of British Indians convened under the auspices of the British Indian Association denies the allegation of illegal influx of British Indians on a wholesale scale, and, in order to satisfy the Government and popular prejudice, offers to submit to voluntary registration, as was done by the community in 1904 under Lord Milner's advice, and in the manner sketched in the Chairman's speech, thus practically fulfilling all the requirements of the Bill without its offensive character.

[Resolution 3][4] In the event of the humble proposal embodied in Resolution 2 not being accepted by the local Government, this meeting hereby requests full Imperial protection by reason of the fact that British Indians have no voice in the choice of the legislators, and represent a very small and weak minority.

[Resolution 4][5] That the Chairman be, and is, hereby authorized to submit the resolutions passed by this meeting of British Indians, by wire or cable, to the local Government and to the Right Hon'ble the

[1] These resolutions were passed at a mass meeting, attended by delegates from all parts of the Transvaal, on March 29, 1907. It is likely that they were drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] This was moved by H. O. Ally.

[3] This was moved by Abdul Rehman of Potchefstroom.

[4] This was moved by Nadirshah A. Cama of Johannesburg.

[5] This was moved by Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer of Johannesburg.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency the Governor-General of India.

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

406. THE DEALERS' LICENSES ACT

The reply[1] of the Natal Government to the Natal Indian Congress regarding the imposition of a heavy fee against a rule under the Dealers' Licenses Act is very unsatisfactory, except in so far as the reply shows an anxiety on the part of the Government to justify its action; but the analogy given from the Liquor Licences and the Road Boards Act is entirely misleading. The Liquor Licences Ordinance and laws are naturally and always restrictive to trade in liquor. The policy of the legislature, therefore, naturally is to put as many obstacles as possible in the way of those licences being multiplied. It may be retorted, it is true, that such is also the policy of the Dealers' Licenses Act so far as Indians are concerned, but we think that the Government could hardly take up such a position. The hardship created by the Act is great enough in that absolute discretion as to the granting of licences rests with the Appellate Boards. To impose a heavy penalty, for the fee of £12 10s is nothing less, would be, practically, to bar even an approach to these Boards. The analogy of the Road Boards also cannot hold good, because the interests involved are of a totally different nature. They regulate special rights and do not create social disabilities, whereas the Dealers' Licenses Act specifically restricts a natural right, which has hitherto been considered to be a vested right. We undoubtedly think that it is the duty of the Congress to pursue the matter, until the imposition shall have been removed.

Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

[1] The Government in its reply had said: "The rule requiring appellants under Act 18 of 1897 to deposit £12 is a proper one, and within the authority given by the Act. I may say that the rule is similar to others passed in connection with similar acts. It is almost identical with one of the rules under the Liquor Act; and, under the Road Boards Act, 1901, a deposit of £15 to £25 is similarly required to be made."

407. TRANSVAAL ASIATIC ORDINANCE

The Transvaal Indians are again confronted with the same situation that they faced during September last. Today every one is watching to see what they will do next.

All Indians will be guided by what the Transvaal Indians do. What happens in the Transvaal may well happen all over South Africa.

"Nothing Venture, Nothing Have"

According to the saying, "Nothing venture, nothing have," if the Transvaal Indians do not rigidly adhere to the resolution on going to gaol, they will lose everything. Not only they, but other South African Indians also will lose their rights.

If the Indian community in the Transvaal does not carry out the resolution in regard to going to gaol, it will be eating its own words. The Europeans will laugh at the Indians. They will think us timid and cowardly and take it that we shall endure any burden imposed on us. No one will put any faith in our word, whether written or spoken.

If Bill Is Passed

If this Bill is passed, the Transvaal Government will soon draft other bills, and the Indian community will of its own lose its rights one after another. The laws which obtain in the Orange River Colony will be enacted in the Transvaal also and later in all the other places. There is already talk today of relegating all the traders to Bazaars, of sending people to Klipspruit thirteen miles away from the Malay Location, and entirely abolishing the right of Indians to own land outside a Location. If, therefore, the Indian community abandons the resolution on courting imprisonment, we believe that it will be impossible to get redress in any of the matters.

If we lose our reputation this time, we shall never recover it. It is our belief that there is nothing worse than withdrawing a threat once held out.

Other Reasons for Opposing Ordinance

These are listed below :

1. Under the Ordinance all (existing) permits will be withdrawn and new ones issued after fresh inquiry.

2. These permits will have to be produced before a Kaffir or any other constable.

3. Licences will not be issued to those who do not produce the permits.

4. Even when the permit is produced, the police have the right to lock up a man for the night.

5. Even a child of eight years will have to be registered by its parents, and its identification marks noted.

6. It is not the people with forged permits or without permits who will have to face this harassment, since they will have left the Transvaal. It is the others with valid permits who will have to go through it all.

7. All the officers have said that the new permits will carry the impressions of all the ten digits.

8. There is a great difference between giving our thumb-impressions in the past and the same provision under the new law. So far, the thumb-impression was given voluntarily, now it is made compulsory under the law.

9. Hitherto the giving of thumb-impressions was not a statutory requirement, so that it had no consequences elsewhere, but now under the new law, it will have consequences everywhere.

10. If a stranger reads this Ordinance, he will only get the impression that those to whom it applies must be thieves, bandits or traitors.

11. The clauses of the Ordinance are such that these can only apply to criminals.

12. The reason advanced for the Ordinance is also of the same nature: the leaders of the Indian community secure entry for Indians into the Transvaal under false pretexts—which means that the leaders are criminals.

13. The Ordinance raises the question whether the Indian community has any status at all.

14. If the Indian community submits to this Ordinance, the result will be that Indians like Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree who may enter the Transvaal will also be required to take out permits with finger-prints. The responsibility for this will rest on the Transvaal Indians.

15. The Ordinance applies only to Asiatics, and not to Cape Boys, Kaffirs, or Malays. That means that all these three communities will laugh at the Indians. Supposing an Indian marries a Malay. No one will be able to ask the Malay to produce a pass, but everywhere the Kaffir police will accost the Indian and demand, "Your pass, please!" This means that the status of the Indian will be lower than that of his Malay wife.

Other such reasons can also be given. Yeaders should deeply ponder over the foregoing reasons and consider whether it is not better to go to gaol than to suffer such indignity. To take out a pass under the Ordinance is, we believe, like permanent imprisonment. In comparison with that, there is nothing wrong in going to gaol for a few days or months. On the contrary, besides bringing in some gain, it will redound

to our credit. The other permanent imprisonment will cause us loss and discredit. It must be remembered that the resolution about courting imprisonment has already been passed by the Indian community and announced to the whole world. If the Ordinance was not acceptable in December, how can it be so now? As far as that Ordinance is concerned, the pledge about going to gaol must stand for ever. We request the Indian community to bear all this in mind and to adhere firmly to the resolution on courting imprisonment. And we pray to God to give us the courage to renew that pledge.

Brave Women of Britain

We still receive cables from Britain regarding the struggle by some brave women. All of them go to gaol instead of paying fines. Though they have not won their rights so far, they have not lost heart. Instead, they believe that, even though they themselves may not get the rights, their daughters will get them as a result of their struggle.

Now about this resolution on gaol-going, no one must argue that he will go to gaol only if all the other Indians do so. It is the man with courage who will have to go to gaol. We have to follow the example of the women referred to above. They go to gaol, though they are very few in number, and thus draw the attention of the world to their cause.

We earnestly request all our readers to have this article imprinted on their mind, and to act with great deliberation.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

408. DUTY OF CAPE AND NATAL [INDIANS]

At this juncture, it is the duty of Indians in the Cape and Natal to hold meetings expressing sympathy with the Transvaal Indians. They should, moreover, pass resolutions and send them to the Imperial Government. It will also be a good thing if Indians from every village and town were to pass resolutions and write to the Government respectfully saying that the law is oppressive and should be withdrawn. It may be remembered that cablegrams in support of the Transvaal Ordinance were sent to Lord Elgin by whites from every town. Everywhere the speeches should be reasonable and good-tempered.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

409. INDIANS GOING TO LOBITO BAY

An Englishman named Stone intends to take Indian labourers to a place called Lobito Bay in Portuguese Africa, a thousand miles to the north of the Cape. He wants to take Indians there to work on the railway which a British company is constructing. The question has arisen if the Indian community should encourage this proposal. The President of the Durban Sanitary Association has published certain facts which indicate that the arrangements made by Mr. Stone in Durban for the Indians are altogether bad. The building that he has rented for them is small and insanitary. If this is true, we should consider whether Indian labourers are likely to gain anything by going to Lobito Bay. Mr. Stone has also received the permission of the Government of India. He therefore stands in no need of help from the Indian community. But the above instance should make us realize that the Indian community cannot give its consent to such proposals. If need be, it can even register its opposition. We hear that the climate of Lobito Bay is pleasant. It is therefore probable that the Indian labourers will be happy there. Much will depend upon whether the foremen who will accompany them are good men or not.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

410. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Asiatic Ordinance

In just two days the new Transvaal parliament passed the Ordinance exactly as it stood in September last. On the 20th the Ordinance was introduced in the Assembly, and the same day, within two hours, it went through all the three readings and was immediately sent to the Legislative Council, where, at the instance of Mr. Martin, it was postponed to the 22nd so that Members could have time to study it.[1] But this was merely a pretence. How were the Members to digest it in one night? The Legislative Council passed it on the 22nd.

[1] Cf. *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XV where Gandhiji says that the Bill was rushed through all its stages in a single sitting on March 21, 1907.

TELEGRAM FROM ASSOCIATION

No one ever dreamt that the Bill would be passed in this manner. When the Association came to know of it, it immediately sent a telegram to the Council to the following effect:

> The Association finds with great sorrow that the Asiatic Bill has already been passed in the Assembly and is likely to pass through the Council today. The Association humbly requests that, until the Association's plea in the matter has been heard, further consideration of the Bill may be postponed. The Association begs to remind Your Honour that the function of the Council is to protect the interests of those who do not have the franchise. The Indian community is loyal, but is without the right to vote. The Association does not at all admit the charge that there is a mass infiltration into the Transvaal by Indians. All adult Indians possess permits bearing names and identification marks. Those who are without permits can even now be deported. It is our request that at the least a commission should be appointed to inquire into the allegation. We feel that the Bill is oppressive and uncalled for. The Association requests redress at the hands of the Council.

This telegram was read out before the Council, but without any result. Now the Bill has been sent to Lord Elgin for approval.

SPEECHES ON BILL

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Smuts, said that the whole white population of the Transvaal was of one mind in the matter. Indians should be stopped from coming in. They come in in large numbers. The Dutch Government attempted to prevent them, and this led to the [Boer] War. The Bill that had been presented that day had come up before the former Council. Its aim was just to have every Indian registered. Law 3 of 1885 was defective, and its drawbacks would be removed in the new Bill. The Imperial Government had vetoed the Bill because it was passed by the former Council. They were now in a position to show that they were unanimous in passing it. Further legislation would be necessary after that Bill had become law; but they would have to look into the matter later. For the time being it was necessary for them to know who had the right to live in the Colony. For these reasons the Bill must be passed the very same day.

Dr. Krautze supported the motion. Mr. Owen Jones said that all the municipalities demanded such an Act. It was absolutely essential to protect the whites. Mr. Loveday congratulated the Government on its promptness in bringing up the Bill. Mr. Jacobs said that all farmers wanted the Indians driven out. If the Indians were not sent back, they might even dispossess the farmers. The whites could settle in the Transvaal, but not in India. The Indians should not therefore leave their own country.

General Choke-Burger supported the Bill and so did Sir Percy Fitzpatrick. The Bill was thus passed, and then sent up to the Council.

In the Council

Mr. Curtis said that the Bill must be passed, but that the Council should have a night to consider it, lest anyone in England should think that the Council passed it without due consideration. The Bill was absolutely necessary. From his experience he could say that every month a hundred Indians entered the Transvaal without permits. If, therefore, South Africa was to remain in the hands of the whites, the Bill had to be passed.

Mr. Martin said that traders and all others had asked for such a Bill and that it should be passed. Mr. Roy congratulated [the Government] on bringing forward the Bill. Mr. Purchas said that the Bill was reasonable and that the Indian contention was not fair. Indians were concerned only with their own interests. They did not consider the other side and their English friends were unaware of conditions here.

Press Comments

The Leader, *The Daily Mail* and *The Star* make the following comments.

According to *The Leader*, Lord Elgin had now no alternative but to give his approval to the Bill. However, in vetoing the former Bill, he had raised a big issue. It was difficult to see how he could now approve the present Bill.

In the opinion of *The Rand Daily Mail*, the Bill was necessary to prevent Indian infiltration. It was well therefore that it had been passed. Those who remained in the Transvaal, however, should be able to live a decent life.

The Star says that Sir Richard Solomon had brought the news that the Bill would receive Royal assent if it was passed by the new parliament. The Bill must therefore be passed now.

Comments in England

The Times says that the Transvaal parliament has made a serious mistake in passing the Bill. It did not think of the difficulties of the Imperial Government. The Conservative *Globe* also says that the Bill should not be approved. *The Tribune* thinks that it was improper that the Bill should have been passed. But now that General Botha was visiting England, Lord Elgin should be able to find a way out.

Our Committee Vigilant

Cables from England show that our Committee there has started a movement in Parliament against the Bill. Furthermore, a joint meeting

of the Committee and the East India Association will take place at Caxton Hall on April 9.

ASSOCIATION MEETING

A joint meeting of the British Indian Association and the Anti-Indian-Law Fund Committee took place last Sunday at Mr. Coovadia's residence. It was followed by another meeting of the Hamidia Islamic Society on Monday. At both the meetings, it was solemnly resolved after due consideration to adhere to the Resolution about going to gaol. Haji Habib, Secretary of the Pretoria Committee, was present at both the meetings.

At this meeting a cheque for the money raised for the struggle against the anti-Indian law, which had been so far with the Gujarati Hindu Society, was received as also another for the money that was lying with Mr. Alibhai Akuji. Attempts are now being made to recover the money collected by other persons.

NEED FOR FUNDS

Every one can understand that at such a time the need for funds will be great. A long discussion took place at both the meetings on the money which had not yet been received from the mofussil committees. They should remit these amounts immediately.

MASS MEETING

It has been decided to hold a mass meeting on Friday, the 30th[1]. Notices have been sent out to all the places. At the time of writing, it is expected that a large number of people will attend.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

411. CABLE TO LORD ELGIN[2]

BRITISH INDIANS ALARMED AT FIRST ACTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL PARLIAMENT REGARDING BRITISH INDIANS. BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION SUBMITS THERE IS NO WHOLESALE ILLEGAL INFLUX. ASSOCIATION WILL SUBMIT MEMORIAL DUE COURSE, AND TRUSTS DECISION WILL BE POSTPONED MEANWHILE.

[BIAS]

Indian Opinion, 30-3-1907

[1] This is an error, for March 30 was Saturday. The mass meeting was held in Johannesburg on the 29th.

[2] A similar cable appears to have been sent to Mr. Morley also.

412. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
March 30, 1907

[TO]
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

REUTER SEND FULL REPORT PROCEEDINGS MASS MEETING. IF YOU DONT UNDERSTAND COMPROMISE OFFERED CABLE FOR EXPLANATION. LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFUSED FORWARD CABLE HOME GOVERNMENT.

[BIAS]

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

413. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

[Before *April 4, 1907*]

MASS MEETING

As I am sending a separate report[2] of the big mass meeting, it is unnecessary to say anything about it here. One cannot visualize what the outcome of the meeting will be. A report of it has been cabled to England through Reuter at half rates and cost over £21. The 440-word cable has gone to all the papers in England. Another has been sent to the South Africa British Indian Committee.

The Colonial Secretary has been informed about the meeting, and the Association has sought an appointment for a deputation to meet him. The idea is to place all the resolutions before the Colonial Secretary and to persuade him to agree to the proposal contained in the Second Resolution.

Mr. Smuts has refused to forward to Lord Elgin the telegram sent to him. He adds that the Colonial Secretary will not object to the Association sending the telegram directly to Lord Elgin if it so desires. This reply shows that the new Government does not want to redress the grievances of Indians. Following this reply, the Association has now written to Lord Selborne to inquire whether he would forward

[1] This was forwarded by L. W. Ritch to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, on April 2.

[2] *Vide* "Mass Meeting of Transvaal Indians", pp. 394-408.

the telegram, alternatively whether the Association might send it directly to Lord Elgin.

RAILWAY HARDSHIPS

The General Manager's reply to the Association's letter says that Indians will be permitted to travel only in the [guard's] van of the 8.35 morning express.

PRETORIA DEPUTATION

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Smuts, has agreed to meet the deputation regarding resolutions passed at the mass meeting. The deputation will see him at Pretoria on the 4th.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

414. A WAY OUT OF DIFFICULTY

The Indian Mass Meeting, held the other day at Johannesburg, shows the earnestness with which British Indians in the Transvaal are fighting an uphill battle. The central point of the proceedings was undoubtedly the Second Resolution, which embodied the eminently reasonable suggestion made by Mr. Abdool Gani, the Chairman of the Meeting and President of the British Indian Association. If the Transvaal Government have any desire whatsoever to conciliate British Indians and to look at the situation from all points of view, they will accept the proposal without the slightest hesitation. With statesmanlike moderation, British Indians have offered voluntarily to be re-registered; they have offered to exchange the double documents they now hold for another document to be mutually approved; and although there is no legislative compulsion, they have agreed to submit to certain restrictions which the Government have considered to be necessary. The Second Resolution is at once an earnest of the *bona fides* of the Indian community, and a way out of a delicate and difficult position. We should be very much surprised if it were not a fact that the Transvaal Ministry is not pining for a tussle with the Imperial Government. It should be thankful to take up the Indian suggestions, nor need Indians be at all frightened over the Resolution. Whilst it undoubtedly exposes them once more to irksome procedure, in view of the prejudice existing in the Colony, it is necessary for them to undergo it. The step taken voluntarily will redound to the eternal credit of the community, and it will pave the way for a reasonable settlement of the whole Indian question. Moreover, the more the Indian community yields in a dignified manner, the more secure becomes its position in the event of the obnoxious Bill receiving

the Royal sanction, and it being necessary for the community to enforce the Fourth Resolution of last September.

The Natal Advertiser has taken us to task for, as it terms it, "deliberately inciting the Transvaal British Indians to passive resistance". It is impossible for *The Advertiser* to enter into the feelings that actuate British Indians. It is not a question of martyrdom, nor is it a question of offering resistance for the sake of it. We have no hesitation in saying that to a loyal and law-abiding community, passive resistance, as the proposed going to gaol has been termed for want of a better word, is a recognized method of obtaining redress; as a matter of fact, the going to gaol is a legal method of submission to law. There are four things provided in the Bill: one is to submit to registration; secondly, in its absence, to leave the country; thirdly, in the absence of either, to pay a fine if the option is reserved; lastly and fourthly, in the absence of any of the last three, to suffer imprisonment. We cannot conceive that there is anything wrong for a British Indian to accept the last remedy, if he considers that registration is worse than gaol. It is undoubtedly true that the last method is an extreme step justifiable under exceptional circumstances. Whether or not a particular state creates such circumstances is a matter of opinion, and the prudence of a community is measured by its capacity for finding out the real state operating to justify that method. If, then, all the moderate propositions submitted by the British Indians in the Transvaal fail to carry weight, and if the Imperial Government abdicate their function of protecting the weak against the strong, we re-affirm our opinion that for the Indian community to be considered a self-respecting body, no other course is left open, but with quiet courage and resignation, to prefer gaol to submission to the insult offered by the Bill.

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

415. SUGGESTION TO OUR TRANSVAAL READERS

This number of *Indian Opinion* is in our view a very important one. It carries a report of the Transvaal meeting[1], which every one should read carefully. But it is especially necessary to get as many whites as possible to read the English report and to draw their attention to the Second Resolution in particular. If they read it in the right spirit, we are sure they will support the suggestion contained therein. If this should happen, the Bill would not come into force. We therefore suggest that each reader order as many copies of this number as possible and distribute them among the whites and request them to read it. In the

[1] *Vide* "Mass Meeting of Transvaal Indians", pp. 394-408.

belief that this hope of ours will be realized, we have printed extra copies of this number. Copies may be had from the head office or from our Johannesburg office. A four-penny stamp for each copy may be sent with the order. Merely to pass on a copy to a white without any explanation would be like throwing it away. It would also be necessary to explain which portion he should read.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

416. TRANSVAAL MASS MEETING[1]

Hundreds of Transvaal Indians met in Johannesburg on the 29th and passed a number of resolutions. The function went off smoothly without any untoward incident, for which the British Indian Association deserves to be congratulated. The situation at present is not such that, once the meetings are over, we can lapse into inactivity. It is the duty of every Indian to put up sustained resistance. We should bear in mind that the question does not concern the Transvaal alone. Let us think about what we should do if the Bill were passed. No one should presume that, because this mass meeting did not pass a resolution about going to gaol, the idea has been abandoned. We have no other remedy left except going to gaol and, if the Indian community adheres to this resolve, it may bring in benefits all round. If the Ordinance is passed, Indians must hold meetings in every town and village and inform the Government that they would rather go to gaol than take out passes. We believe it would be wise to start preparing for such an eventuality from now on. So, if those who are prepared to go to gaol will let us have their names and addresses, we will publish them in this journal. It is necessary to do this; for each will derive strength from the other and even the Government will be unnerved by the publication of the names. We propose to publish these names in the English section also.

We have already explained to the Natal and Cape Indians their duties in this context.[2] They should immediately hold meetings and pass resolutions of sympathy and send these to [the authorities in] England.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

[1] For a fuller report *vide* "Mass Meeting of Transvaal Indians", pp. 394-408.

[2] *Vide* "Duty of Cape and Natal [Indians]", p. 385.

We hold that the victory at Harding is no victory at all. The poor applicant was given the licence only after he had cancelled the deed of partnership. This is not justice. Today the appeal court demands this; tomorrow it may demand more. A licence can be had only after meeting the demands of the court [whatever they are]. This is possible only because the Board has excessive powers. It is quite clear from the Harding case that an even bigger struggle against the Natal Licensing Act is necessary.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

418. MASS MEETING OF TRANSVAAL INDIANS

Full Account

A huge meeting of Indians was held at the Gaiety Theatre in Johannesburg on March 29 to protest against the Asiatic Act and pass the necessary resolutions. It was attended by delegates from distant places. Many people had to go back as the Theatre was filled to capacity. The President of the British Indian Association, Mr. Abdul Gani, was in the chair. On the platform were Mr. Haji Habib, Mr. Vyas, and others from Pretoria; Mr. Abdul Rehman Moti, Mr. Joosab Haji Vali, Mr. Mohanlal Khanderia from Pietersburg; Mr. Keshavji Giga from Spelonkin; Mr. A. M. Bhayat and Mr. Somabhai from Heidelberg; Mr. Ismail Kaji, Mr. Vaja and Mr. Khurshedji from Krugersdorp; and Mr. Khan from Zeerust. Besides these, Mr. M. S. Coovadia, Mr. Haji Ojer Ally, Mr. M. P. Fancy, Mr. Essop Mian, Mr. Gulam Saheb, Mr. Amiruddin, Mr. Nadirshah Cama, Mr. Bomanshah, Imam Abdul Kadir, Mr. Osman Latief, Mr. Ibrahim Aswat, Mr. E. M. Patel, Mr. Moonsami Moonlight, Mr. V. Naidu, Mr. A. A. Pillay and Mr. Bapu Desai of Rustenburg; Mr. Manibhai Khandubhai, Mr. Nanalal Shah, Mr. Gabru, Mr. Omerji Sale, Mr. Ahmed Mahomed, Mr. Alibhai Akuji, Mr. S. D. Bobat of Potchefstroom, Mr. V. Appasami, Pandit Ramsundar, Mr. Lal Bahadur Singh, Mr. Dadlani, Mr. Gandhi and others were also present. Telegrams and letters came in from many places. The reporters of *The Star* and *The Rand Daily Mail* were present. The meeting began at 4 p.m. A translation of Mr. Abdul Gani's speech is given below:

Welcome

It has fallen to me once again to welcome the Indians from Johannesburg and the delegates who have come to participate in the deliberations over important questions concerning our community. The act which was rejected by Lord Elgin has been passed again by the new parliament. Fortunately we were not under any illusion when we welcomed our Delegates on their return from England with the victory they had won. We knew then that our work had just begun. However, none of us had any suspicion at the time that the same law would be re-enacted within 24 hours and that normal parliamentary procedure would be suspended for the purpose.[1] Suspension of parliamentary procedure is nothing surprising; but it is done only in a great emergency.

How Bill Came to Be Passed

If a state of real emergency had arisen and the country had to be saved, we could understand the rushing of a law through parliament; but on this occasion it was merely a fight between the lion and the goat.

White and Brown

While, on the one hand, there are 250,000 whites who enjoy all political rights and the number goes on increasing monthly because they can enter without restriction, there are, on the other hand, 14,000 Indians whose number, it is said, increases by a hundred a month. It is in order to protect the all powerful whites that the Act to keep out Indians without a permit has been passed. People who do such a thing must be steeped in ill-will against us. Normally, the Act would have been placed before the public for consideration for three months and the champions of the Act, which is to protect the rights of 250,000 whites, would have had to run the risk only of 300 Indians entering the Transvaal.

How Is New Legislature?

It is deliberately that I describe our legislators as the custodians of the rights of the whites alone. At any rate the members of the Council do nothing else. It is said that the Legislative Council has been charged with the task of preventing the enactment of laws against the blacks. In fact, that this was their duty was urged as a reason when it was demanded that the Bill be postponed for the night. But I must regretfully say that this was merely a ruse.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 386.

How could the members become familiar in a night with a bill, which was admittedly very important and complicated? How could the Council gauge within a night the feelings and opinions of those whose rights it was supposed to protect? Could the Council have passed the Bill as carelessly if the members had been elected by us? Could it have ignored our humble demand that the Bill be postponed to enable us to place our case before it? To prove that I am not making a mistake when I say this, I quote Mr. Curtis who is believed to be the author of this Bill. He said, 'I am glad that this Bill has come up before the Council. However, I support Mr. Martin's motion to postpone consideration of it for a night. If it is passed on the same day on which it is moved without discussion in either of the Houses, we shall be placing a very big weapon in the hands of our opponents. The Bill was rejected by Lord Elgin not because of its objects but because of some of its clauses. How many members can claim that they have carefully read all the clauses of the Bill? This Bill is an important and serious one. It raises the question whether this land will continue to belong to the whites or become black.'

Don't Indians Think?

While casting his vote in favour of the Bill, Mr. Purchas said that we looked at only one side of the question. We did not look to the interests of the whites. He also said that our English friends did not know the conditions in the Colony. In saying this Mr. Purchas has betrayed his ignorance of our case and of facts about our English friends. For his information I repeat that we know the conditions [of life] of the whites and we want to adapt ourselves to their ideas. That is why we have forgone our political rights and shown readiness to accept the law pertaining to trade and immigration without racial discrimination. If anyone says that we accept it because we cannot help it, he will be quite wrong. For had we wanted to do so, we could have fought against it, harassed both the Colonial and the India Offices and thus added to their worries. I claim credit for our community for we realized our position without compulsion and did not harass the Imperial Government. Again Mr. Purchas does not know our friends; for, if he did, he would find that many of our friends are renowned veteran Government servants. They would never go over to any party without careful thought. He who would accuse men like Sir William Bull, Sir Lepel Griffin, and Sir Raymond West of partisanship surely does not know them. It is needless to name the other famous Liberals. It is thanks to them that [the Colony gained responsible government and] members are elected to the

Council and the Assembly. Their motive in trying to secure justice for Indians from the rulers of the Transvaal is the same as that which made them show such unexampled generosity towards the Transvaal whites. Both according to them and to us, responsible government means the right to manage one's own affairs and not the right to tyrannize over others who do not have the vote. The people of the Colony forget this definition of responsible government and disapprove of the restrictions in the constitution for safeguarding the rights of the blacks. And that is why even men like Sir Richard Solomon say that these restrictions are only nominal. This is our lot at the very beginning of responsible government.

Lord Selborne

Our freedom was endangered when the Colony won responsible government; similarly we now become nervous as we read Lord Selborne's despatches. We had hoped that Lord Selborne, who, before the war, talked about our rights, would now, with better opportunities to do so, protect us the better. But I must respectfully submit that, instead of working as a trustee, he has functioned as a partisan. Instead of having equal regard for all, he has been partial to the whites.

"Bribery Is Religion of Indians"

Let me comment on some matters mentioned in his communications which are published in the Blue book. His Lordship, on being given information about false permits, levelled an unworthy and painful charge against us. His Excellency said, 'Those who have come in contact with the people of the East know that they do not look upon getting their work done through bribery as irreligious. Thanks to this state of affairs the permit inspector succumbs to temptation for which he should never be given the opportunity.' I know nothing about the habit of offering bribes among the people of the East, but I do know that even the lowest among the Indians knows that offering a bribe is bad. I must remind His Lordship that, in 1903, officials in the Asiatic Office at Johannesburg did accept bribes and that it was through the efforts of the British Indian Association that they were caught and dismissed.

Is Bill Advantageous to Indians?

Lord Selborne says that the Bill is advantageous to the Indian community; but we have shown that this is not at all so. His Lordship therefore accuses us of over-reaching ourselves; but we can accuse him too of doing the same thing. According to him, it

is unfair of us to say that [under the Bill] our position becomes inferior to that of the Kaffirs. I repeat what I said. The Kaffirs do not have to take out a pass as we have to; neither have they to have their children registered.

CHARGE AGAINST SIR LEPEL

Moreover, His Lordship has levelled a charge against Sir Lepel Griffin also and has criticized him for his remarks on the taking out of passes by women and children. But he has deliberately omitted the fact that Mr. Gandhi corrected Sir Lepel's minor mistake on the spot.[1] And it is undoubtedly true that children will have to be registered. It must also be noted that the Transvaal Government would have made registration compulsory for women also if they had had their own way.

DO MANY INDIANS ENTER WITHOUT PERMITS?

Many other matters arise from what Lord Selborne has written; but I cannot give an account of these here. I must mention one fact however. We can offer the same evidence to disprove Lord Selborne's contention — that many people enter without a permit — which he gives in order to show that they do. For the same proven offences which he uses against us show that the existing system of permits is sufficient to catch holders of faked ones. Those who have presented the facts before Lord Selborne have not differentiated between those who have already entered with false permits and settled here and others who now try to enter with such permits. And in the charged atmosphere of the Transvaal a single instance of a faked permit appears magnified a hundredfold. In his report of September 27, Mr. Chamney says that, during the last six months, 287 persons were found without permits or with false ones. Of these 165 have been found guilty and 122 are in the Colony but cannot be traced. Therefore, if Mr. Chamney's findings are correct, 21 persons, on an average, enter every month with faked permits or without a permit altogether. Despite these facts, Mr. Curtis maintains that each month 100 Asiatics enter in this manner with faked permits.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

Our fight is not against particular clauses of the Bill but against the entire Bill and its objectives. It puts a dark blot on us; it outrages our feelings. It presupposes that those to whom it applies are criminals. This makes our position worse in relation to Kaffirs and Malays, with whom we daily come in contact, by

[1] *Vide* "Deputation to Lord Elgin", p. 117.

marking us off from them in an objectionable manner. Consequently our status is depressed. Admittedly it no more than wounds our susceptibilities; but such an affront cannot be put up with indefinitely. One does not mind it much if one's feelings are hurt on rare occasions and in some trivial matter. In fact, such things we suffer daily at the hands of the whites. But when our feelings are hurt on important matters and we are made to look small all the time, it would be cowardice and betrayal of our country for us to endure it all silently. We praise the whites because they think in terms of the future; but if we are sincere in our praise, we must emulate them. When we think of our future, should they not congratulate us? It is only right that they are ever active in defending their rights. Can't we then exert ourselves to preserve ours?

What Did Whites Suffer?

When President Kruger made it obligatory for the whites to take out passes, they were highly agitated. All South Africa resounded with protests against the way the late President had, according to them, thought up a way of disgracing them. In the end, the President had to give in, although the humiliation that we are being subjected to is far more serious than theirs. Moreover there was a better reason for taking stringent measures against them, for they were attacking the state. But we have never been accused of any action against states or society. Even the annual report of the Transvaal [Government] states that our people never give the police any trouble. In spite of this, a law has been passed, as I said before, in 24 hours as if we were great criminals, and it now only awaits the sanction of the Imperial Government.

Injury Added to Insult

Again, we raise our objection against the law not merely because our feelings are wounded. It will cause us great loss as well. Our experience is that any law applicable only to a section of the people always causes much suffering. It leads to other consequential enactments. Other laws are framed on a similar basis. I do grant, however, that no Bill can be more severe than this. But that is no consolation. I can give examples to show that, even where such class legislation was not so designed, it did cause much harm and hardship. Never during the Boer regime was the Law [3] of 1885 enforced as harshly as it is today. Sir Hercules Robinson (later Lord Rosemead) had in fact stipulated that this law would not apply to respectable Indians such as traders. But Lord Rosemead's

view passed with him and the law was applied to us according to its literal interpretation. The Bill confers such wide powers on the officials that, if they were unsympathetic, it might lead to much harassment.

Example of Natal

Even though the trading law applies both to the white and the black in Natal, it has become oppressive [to the latter]. For there is much divergence between its interpretation [now] and the promises made [at the time of its enactment]. The understanding was that the rights of old traders would not be infringed. This has been thrown to the winds, and no Indian trader seems to be safe because of the way the law is now being enforced. Such insecurity prevails in the Cape too. We too were given promises when the war broke out, but we got nothing besides. We must therefore realize that this Bill brings us to the brink of extinction.

If Thumb-impression, Why Not Ten Finger-prints?

We are being asked why, if we had willingly agreed to give the thumb-impressions, should we now object to giving impressions of the ten digits under compulsion? This question would suggest that the whole affair was merely one of the thumb or the fingers. As a matter of fact, our struggle raises a very big issue. Looking at it from another point of view, we find that we do many things willingly and feel no indignity in doing them. But the same things we will not do under compulsion. We look upon the law of compulsory registration as the sting of a scorpion. But mere argument cannot make the whites understand [our point of view]. They have a suspicion that we wish to swamp the Colony with Indians. Mr. Roy believes that, if we did entertain such a desire, it would be but natural. But we deny this. Mr. Smuts has said that the Bill has two objects. One is to separate the Indians who have the right to stay from those who do not have the right. The other is to give Indians, who are lawfully [in the Colony], permits which contain more details so as to enable [the Government] to detect those who enter the Transvaal in the future without a permit. All this can be done very easily, quickly and inexpensively —with the consent of the Indian community—by virtue of the laws that are already in force. We have agreed to help the Government at all times. I, therefore, put forward the following proposal today in your name so that the two objects mentioned by Mr. Smuts can be achieved without having to pass the new Bill.

The Proposal

This was in fact done during Lord Milner's time and both he and Captain Fowle were happy with the Indian community. This is the proposal that I make:

(1) The Government should fix a day for the simultaneous examination of all the permits.

(2) Either all of them should be stamped with the seal of the Colonial Secretary or, where the existing permits are genuine, they should be replaced by new ones and their form and contents should be decided on in consultation with the Indian community.

(3) Instead of the two documents, a permit and a registration [certificate] that are taken out at present, only one should be issued to Indians.

(4) Permits should also be issued to boys and girls who have come of age.

(5) No Indian should get a trade licence if he does not produce his permit.

(6) The children of lawful Indian residents should also receive permits.

(7) Temporary permits should be issued only after a surety approved by the Colonial Secretary is produced.

These proposals, if accepted, would solve all problems. It is undoubtedly true that the observance of some of the provisions will depend on the goodwill of the Indian community; for example, not getting a trade licence without first having a permit. But in such matters we ask the Government to trust us. Again this [state of affairs] will not last long, for the whole problem will have to be solved quickly. Moreover, these problems are not covered by the registration law; other laws will be required to solve them.

Appeal

In your name, I appeal to the Government to accept our proposals. That will end their conflict with the Imperial Government. We do not want to be always complaining to the Imperial Government. We want to live honourably in goodwill and amity with the whites under the ægis of the local Government and thus to respect the wishes of the whites. But all that can be done only if they regard us as human beings, grant that we have the same feelings that they have; that we are fit to enjoy the same rights as they under the great British Empire. But if, unfortunately, this meeting cannot convince the Government of this unpalatable

truth and of the justice of our demands, we shall have no alternative but to ask for the protection of the Imperial Government, which it is bound to give. Whenever the weak are oppressed by the strong, it is the duty of the Imperial Government to come to their help. I draw the attention of this meeting to the resolutions passed by the [executive] Committee of the Association. I thank you all for having attended this meeting. May God help us. May He give the officials the good sense to realize that our petition is just and to grant it in the belief that we have no strength save our truthfulness. May they, at the beginning of their rule, give us hopes for the future! (Applause.)

The speech was read by Mr. Nanalal Shah in English. Mr. Ally then moved the first resolution.

FIRST RESOLUTION

This meeting convened by the British Indian Association respectfully protests against the Asiatic Law Amendment Bill as being unnecessary and degrading to the Indian community.

[HAJI] OJER ALLY

I am happy to move this resolution. I was a member of the Deputation that went to England. The labours of the Deputation have been reduced to nought. No one can say that we are not loyal subjects. Though a law-abiding people, we are oppressed. We have not assembled here to defend those who enter with faked permits or with none. Let the Government drive them out if they want to, but it is unjust to punish the genuine permit-holders for the offences of the others. It has been stated in the new parliament that the existing law is not enough to expel the offending Indians. But that is not true. Let the Government, if they like, enact a law that no one without a permit can carry on trade or hawking or take up employment. If this is done, how can any Indian live on in the Transvaal without a permit? When the Deputation was in England, a petition was sent [from here] to say that the members of the Deputation did not represent the community as a whole. There are Indians of all communities in this meeting. Delegates from all the towns are here. If there is anyone here who is opposed to that Deputation, let him speak up. Lord Selborne's tirade against us is undeserved. It is really strange that the Bill which Lord Elgin had rejected should be re-introduced. The President has pointed out that the Bill was passed within 24 hours; but I say that it was passed within an hour and a half. Would the British people lose their sense of justice? If so, let the Proclamation of Queen [Victoria] and King Edward's message be withdrawn.

If this Bill is passed, we shall be looked upon as criminals by the whole world. It is shameful that Mr. Smuts should call us coolies. When I was in England, I was made a member of the National Liberal Club. Even the lords respected me. If this Bill is passed, I will not stay in this land a moment longer. Rather than pass such laws, the Government had better drive us out of the Colony.

ESSOP MIAN

I support the resolution moved by Mr. Ally. It is pleasing to find that we can get together at a critical time [like this]. I believe Lord Selborne has been ill-disposed towards us from the outset. He has always regarded us all as coolies and no better than locusts. They fought the Boers on our behalf but have now handed the country back to them. And the Boers have re-enacted the law. Will Lord Elgin now sign the same Bill which he once refused to sign? We have to fight with all our strength. There is goodwill for us in England, and we hope to obtain redress for our grievances there. Let Mr. Chamney put his thumb-impression on our permits if he likes. Who will then be able to erase those thumb-marks? [*sic*] The fact that the Government does not even forward our telegram shows that we are not going to get justice here. We can never accept such a law.

COOVADIA

I also support Mr. Ally's resolution. It is our duty to put up a struggle. The Ordinance is obnoxious and I appeal to everyone to refuse to submit to it.

HAJI HABIB

I support this resolution. Lord Selborne is sorry that the Ordinance was not approved by the Imperial Government for he believes that, without it, he will not be able to fulfil the promise he made to a handful of whites. But does he not regret not having made good his promise to the Indian community before the war? Which is more important—his promise given to a handful of whites or the one given to the thirty crores of Indians? Again, whose words are more important—those of Lord Selborne or those of the late Queen Victoria and King-Emperor Edward? The whites say that this country belongs exclusively to them. Let us think this over. There are [in the Colony] nearly a hundred thousand Indians,[1] five million

[1] For census and Permit Office figures for Indian population in the Colony, *vide* "Interview to *The Tribune*", p. 1.

Kaffirs and the rest Malays and Cape Boys. Only when these people are all banished from the country can this be called a white man's land. Let them send the Kaffirs away to Abyssinia, the Indians to India, the Chinese to China, the Malays to their native land and the Cape Boys to St. Helena. Then, certainly, this will become the land of the whites. Then we shall see how the affairs of the country are managed. We shall always need three things to put up a fight against this law or any other fight for that matter: those who will fight, and the means to fight, that is, money and unity. The first we already have; the second we can procure; the third, unity, we lack. That we must bring about anyhow.

JUSAB HAJI VALI

Are we supposed to be thieves or free-booters that even a Kaffir policeman can accost and detain us wherever we happen to be going? We have begged them [for our rights] for long. We can no longer trust the word of the whites. We will continue to fight by constitutional means. But self-help is necessary. To save the country from degradation, it is necessary for us to educate ourselves.

RAMSUNDAR PANDIT

The mother gives her child milk, but a step-mother eats him up. The Government is like a step-mother. The Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, spent a lifetime in trying to get redress for Indian grievances but that redress has not been obtained. We should follow the example of Japan and unite, become industrious and educate ourselves. I think it is better to go to gaol than to submit to this law. In England women go to gaol in defence of their rights; how can we men be afraid of doing so? What does it matter if we have to die for our motherland? We should follow the example of great men like Babu Surendranath Banerjea. I think it is better to return to India than to live on here in humiliation.

Messrs Vaza, Khurshedji, M. V. Naidu and K. N. Dadlani also supported the resolution and it was then passed unanimously.

SECOND RESOLUTION

This meeting convened under the auspices of the British Indian Association denies the allegation of illegal influx of Indians on a wholesale scale into the Transvaal, and, in order to satisfy the Government and the people, offers to submit to voluntary re-registration as was done by the community during Lord Milner's time and in the manner indicated in the chairman's speech thus fulfilling practically all the requirements of the Bill without its offensive character.

ABDUL REHMAN

I move this resolution. I do not understand it fully. But I consider myself bound to follow the Association. There is no chance of securing any relief from the Dutch Government. Mr. Smuts has pointed out that the war was fought on our account; this means that we can expect nothing favourable from the Dutch Government. As to Lord Selborne, why should he do us a good turn?

Mr. Rees has left our Committee[1] saying that Lord Selborne's despatch is unanswerable. But our chairman has given a very appropriate reply to it. We do not have even the vote. We have a lot to learn from the Dutch. They are courageous and that is why they have got their kingdom back. Shall we give in? It is better to go to gaol than submit to this law.

Messrs Ibrahim Gata, M. P. Fancy, S. D. Bobat, Abdul Rehman Moti, Mohanlal Khanderia, T. Naidu and V. Appasami supported the resolution and it was passed unanimously.

THIRD RESOLUTION

In the event of the humble request embodied in the Second Resolution not being accepted by the local Government, this meeting requests full Imperial protection by reason of the fact that the Indian community has no voice in electing the government [of this country] and is a very small and weak community.

NADIRSHAH CAMA

I move this resolution. We must understand the nature of this law. It is very humiliating. We wish to live in peace and amity with the whites, but we will not be their slaves. Let those who have entered by fraudulent means be driven out. If all of us hold together, no harm will come to us. We demand no political rights. We have changed our permits several times. We gave thumb-impressions on Lord Milner's advice. During President Kruger's lifetime Lord Selborne was our trustee. After the President's death Lord Selborne has become another Kruger. This law is not meant for the Hottentots or Kaffirs; why then should it apply only to us? I believe that though my skin is black, my heart is whiter than any white's. Our Committee is fighting for us in England and our Delegates have returned victorious. We need not, therefore, lose heart. Whatever may happen, we will never accept this law. It will degrade us in the eyes of the whole world. Does Mr. Smuts want to wreak vengeance on us for the war? We have many

[1] South Africa British Indian Committee in England

difficulties to face. Even if the Imperial Government gives its sanction to the law, I will never accept it.

E. M. ASWAT

The Act was enacted by the British; and now the Dutch are ruling. But they are not to be blamed. If a dog is hit by a stone, he bites the person who threw the stone at him, not the stone. We shall not eat the Boer Government's land. It was the locusts which ate up the crop. I will not accept this law.

GABRU

This law has a sting like that of a snake. If King-Emperor Edward does not give us justice, darkness will descend everywhere. Why must we be classed with all other Asiatics? Are we to be refused even those rights enjoyed by whites who are not British citizens?

GAURISHANKAR VYAS

The resolution embodying the appeal is an obsequious one. But so let it be. I would remind you all of the resolution we passed last September at the Empire Theatre. That theatre has been gutted by a fire, but the words spoken there live on. If, in accordance with those words, you cannot go to gaol, you may leave the country, but do not accept slavery by taking out passes according to this law. I was present at the Benares Congress. At that time Lala Lajpat Rai described how the Bengalis had acted like lions. We too have to act likewise.

This resolution was supported by Messrs E. M. Patel, A. Desai, Omerji Sale, Ahmed Mahomed and A. A. Pillay and was passed unanimously.

FOURTH RESOLUTION

This meeting authorizes the chairman to submit these resolutions by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy of India.

IMAM ABDUL KADIR

Freedom is the supreme thing; the spread of Islam was made possible by freedom. The British Government fought for the eradication of slavery in Zanzibar. Will that Government now force slavery upon us here? Lord Selborne has accused us of bribery. If the European official had done justice without taking bribes who would have offered him bribes? I shall never accept the imposition of slavery by those who have been sent here as [our] trustees by the Imperial Government.

OSMAN LATIEF

For a long time now, we have held meetings about this. We must have courage. We are being blamed for the poverty of the Transvaal whites. But what about the whites in the Orange River Colony who go on declaring themselves insolvent? Surely, there are no Indians there. We have got ourselves registered several times over; shall we go on doing so endlessly? The whites admit that, when their forefathers were still barbarians, ours were civilized. How then can we, their descendants, bear this law?

MANIBHAI KHANDUBHAI

In this world, anything else can be conquered; but the mind of man is unconquerable. Whatever the sufferings we have to undergo, we must oppose this law. As for myself I will never accept it.

Mr. Bomanshah and Mr. Bapu Desai also supported the resolution, and it was passed unanimously.

MEANING OF SECOND RESOLUTION

Mr. Abdul Rehman had said that many people did not understand the Second Resolution; they felt that there was no difference between it and the Bill itself. Replying to this Mr. Gandhi said:

It is after serious consideration by the leaders, and with their approval, that the Second Resolution is placed before the meeting. Nevertheless, I take upon myself all responsibility for it. I feel that the success of our Deputation to England was due solely to the fact that we had earlier taken out fresh permits and registers on Lord Milner's advice. If we had obstinately held out at that time, our plight would have become worse. Lord Milner has written a letter to *The Times* in our favour. That is, I think, because he understood the facts put before him by the Deputation. For our part, just as we demand our rights vigorously and deny accusations against us where they are false, so should we admit our faults when we realize them. Illegal entry by Indians is not as extensive as the whites allege. We must nevertheless confess that some Indians do enter in this manner. The more this happens the more severe will be the restrictions on us. The Government argue that they cannot exercise an effective check [on illicit immigration] with the existing permits. According to them, the thumb-impressions on some are not clear, and a person sometimes sells his permit at one place and his register at another. This is true to some extent; as a community, however, we do not accept this charge. But the Government do not believe us. It would only be right for us therefore to try to inspire confidence in them. There would therefore be nothing wrong if we agreed to take out permits in the form acceptable to us, without the compulsion of law. We therefore place the proposal before the Government that

they give up the idea of passing the Act and we voluntarily take out fresh permits. If it is accepted, it will do us credit; the Government will have faith in us; we may even be consulted in future when new legislation is contemplated, and above all the new Bill may be abandoned. Anything voluntarily accepted by us cannot be regarded as humiliation. Another outcome of our proposal will be that our humility, forbearance and good sense will be appreciated in England. To prevent the passage of this Bill, there is, apart of course from gaol-going, no better remedy than this. Moreover, such [a system of] permits will be based on mutual understanding. If therefore at any time we were confronted with any inordinate hardship, we could refuse to act on the understanding.

If gaol-going—which we have been contemplating—comes after this proposal, it will appear more graceful. The ultimate remedy is, of course, gaol-going. The fact that this time we have not passed any resolution about going to gaol does not mean that, if the Bill is passed, we are not to court imprisonment. No one should put the idea of going to gaol out of his mind.

After a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting dispersed.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-4-1907

419. CABLE TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
April 6, 1907

[TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES]
LONDON

MASS MEETING BRITISH INDIANS MARCH 29TH ATTENDANCE 1500 PASSED RESOLUTIONS PROTESTING AGAINST ASIATIC LAW AMENDMENT BILL RECENTLY PASSED BY TRANSVAAL PARLIAMENT. SUGGESTED VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION EXCHANGE FOR PRESENT CERTIFICATES HELD BY COMMUNITY. FORM NEW CERTIFICATES TO BE MUTUALLY AGREED. ALL REQUIREMENTS OF BILL SATISFIED BY PROPOSAL WITHOUT OFFENSIVE CHARACTER BILL. IF COMPROMISE NOT ACCEPTED ASSOCIATION REQUEST IMPERIAL INTERVENTION ON BEHALF BRITISH INDIANS WHO REPRESENT WEAK VOTELESS MINORITY. IMMEDIATELY ON PASSAGE BILL WHICH WAS RUSHED THROUGH PARLIAMENT TWENTYFOUR HOURS ASSOCIATION REQUESTED GOVERNMENT FORWARD CABLE TO YOU BUT LATTER REFUSED ADDING NO OBJECTION ASSOCIATION CABLING DIRECTLY. HENCE

[1] A similar cable was sent to Reuter for release to newspapers.

THIS CABLE. FURTHER REPRESENTATION FOLLOWS AFTER RESULT NEGOTIATIONS LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

420. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
April 6, 1907

TO
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

REPORT[2] REGISTRAR ASIATICS PUBLISHED COMPLETE VINDICATION INDIAN POSITION. NO EVIDENCE WHOLESALE SURREPTITIOUS ENTRY. ALTOGETHER ALLEGED ENTRY 800 ASIATICS WITHOUT PERMITS OR [WITH] STOLEN PERMITS. NO ANALYSIS GIVEN. PROBABLY REPORT MEANS THESE ENTRIES DURING FIVE YEARS. SHOWS ALLEGATIONS ANTI-ASIATICS BASELESS. ALSO COMMUNITY GENERALLY NOT INVOLVED. AS FIGURES GIVEN MANY CONVICTED BANISHED. RAND DAILY MAIL COMMENTING SAYS REPORT DOES NOT PROVE NECESSITY NEW BILL. IT PROVES CLEARLY PRESENT MACHINERY QUITE GOOD. INDIAN DEPUTATION WAITED COLONIAL SECRETARY PLACED COMPROMISE BEFORE HIM. REPLY INDECISIVE. SYMPATHETIC INFLUENCES WORKING.

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

421. MEETING OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

[*April 8, 1907*]

RESOLUTION OF SYMPATHY FOR TRANSVAAL INDIANS

A largely attended meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held on Monday the 8th at about 8.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Mr. Dawad Mahomed. Many members were present. After the minutes of the last meeting and the accounts, etc., had been passed, a resolution, moved by Mr. Motilal Dewan and seconded by Mr. Peeran Mahomed, was passed expressing the sympathy of the Natal Indian Congress for the Transvaal Indians in their campaign against the Asiatic [Registration] Bill and appealing to the Imperial Government to accord

[1] This was forwarded to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies by L. W. Ritch on April 9.

[2] *Vide* "Chamney's Report", 413-4.

adequate protection to the Indian community. The Secretaries were asked to cable the resolution to the Imperial Government.

Omar Haji Amod Zaveri's Resignation

After this, the resignation of Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri, who intends to go to India, was placed before the Congress for consideration. Mr. Gandhi, who was present at the meeting, said that the Congress had no alternative but to accept Mr. Zaveri's resignation, and added that, though there was no other Indian who could fill the void, the best solution was to appoint Mr. Dada Osman as Joint Secretary.

Mr. Abdul Kadir was of the opinion that Mr. Zaveri's resignation should be accepted with effect from the date of his departure and that it would be only right to hold another meeting to consider his resignation and the appointment of another Secretary.

Mr. Peeran Mahomed also supported Mr. Abdul Kadir's view and the subject of the resignation and appointment [of a successor] was postponed till the next meeting.

Mr. Lawrence's letter suggesting the admission of young persons [to membership of the Congress] at reduced rates of subscription was then taken up for consideration. After some deliberation, a resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi and seconded by Mr. Abdul Kadir was unanimously passed, appointing a committee consisting of Mr. Dawad Mahomed, the two Secretaries, Mr. Peeran Mahomed, Mr. Abdul Kadir, Mr. Abdul Haji Adam, Mr. Ismail Gora Mahomed and Mr. Gandhi to meet Mr. Lawrence and his friends [in this connection]. The committee was asked to suggest the necessary changes in the rules, regulations and the constitution of the Congress. The meeting then dispersed.

After the scheduled meeting was over, Mr. Gandhi made a short speech. He pointed out that malaria appeared to have broken out in epidemic form among the Indians on the east coast of Umgeni,[1] and it was necessary for the community to help them to the utmost. Young men who could spare the time should attend to the poor patients. Dr. Nanji had offered all possible help, and if volunteers came forward to tend the sick, much useful work could be done. It would redound to the fair name of the community and the volunteers would earn the gratitude of poor patients. Even a single individual could do much. The main thing to do was to go to the river bank, find the patients, inquire about their condition and report to the Congress Secretaries and to Dr. Nanji. Many young men had already come forward to do this work with zeal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

[1] *Vide* "Malaria and Duty of Indians", pp. 373-4.

422. LETTER TO "THE NATAL ADVERTISER"[1]

MARITZBURG,
April 9, 1907

[TO
THE EDITOR
THE NATAL ADVERTISER
DURBAN]

SIR,

You, as well as your contemporary *The Natal Mercury*, have commented adversely upon Reuter's telegram regarding the report of the Registrar of Asiatics, published in the Transvaal, on the working of the permit system. If the facts as you state were true, every word stated by you would be justified, and in order to deserve the credit for honesty, which you have been good enough to give me, I should undoubtedly have to recall all I have said in public in opposition to the allegations as to illegal Asiatic influx into the Transvaal on a wholesale basis. Happily for the cause I have the privilege of serving, it is not necessary for me to withdraw anything I have hitherto said, for the simple reason that Reuter's agency has been instrumental—quite unwittingly—in telegraphing an utter mis-statement. It will now be difficult to entirely undo the mischief created. Reuter's telegram stated that out of 12,543 registrations only 4,144 were accepted as valid. This is a condensation of a statement in the report which I have before me, and the condensation gives a meaning opposite to the one intended by the writer of the report. Allow me to state the position as briefly as I can. Registration is not to be mixed up with the taking out of permits. In 1903 there were 12,543 Asiatics at least in the Transvaal with lawful authority. Lord Milner some time during the year issued instructions to enforce Law 3 of 1885 and to exact £3 from those Asiatics who had not paid the amount to the late Boer Government, and in order to establish a uniform system of registration, he advised the Indian community to take out new certificates, both for those who had taken out £3 certificates before and those who had not.

This position the Indian community voluntarily accepted in order to please His Lordship. What Mr. Chamney says in his report is that out of 12,543 men who presented themselves for registration, 4,144

[1] The Editor, *The Natal Advertiser,* replied as follows: "...As we are not in possession as yet of the report itself, we are unable to decide between Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of it and Reuter's. . . ."

were able to make good their claim for exemption from payment of £3. How many claimants were rejected is not stated, but the point is perfectly clear that this registration did not affect the validity of the permits already issued. As a matter of fact, registration was granted only in favour of those who were in possession of permits. The statement wired by Reuter, therefore, means that all but 4,144 had to pay the sum of £3 in order to take out registration certificates, which did not in any way replace the permits already issued, so that your inference that 8,000 have managed to enter the Colony illegally is quite wide of the mark. The fact that 144 Asiatics died, and only four of their permits were recovered proves nothing except that the dead men forgot to return their permits in anticipation. There is no law with reference to the return of these documents, and it should be remembered that the men died not in the Transvaal, but in India. The only paragraph, therefore, in the report under discussion, dealing with illegal influx, is that wherein 876 men are alleged to have been found without permits or with stolen permits. Assuming the accuracy of the figures given by Mr. Chamney, all that has been proved is that about fifty stragglers per month entered the Transvaal on false permits or without any. I will not trespass on your courtesy by entering into further discussion beyond stating, without meaning any disparagement to Mr. Chamney, that he, lacking the judicial spirit, has not been able to distinguish between suspicion and proof, and has made statements which do not bear a judicial scrutiny. They are no more than assertions unsupported by facts, though, as I have already stated, even the one assertion made in support of an illegal influx is capable of being very much boiled down. There is, however, nothing in that report to prove that there has been any encouragement on the part of the Indian community as a whole to an illegal entry nor of illegal influx on a wholesale basis. No one has ever denied the existence altogether of illegal entries, but it is the wholesale basis that has been challenged, and Mr. Chamney's report, even taken as it is, without considering the natural defects I have drawn attention to, furnishes a complete vindication of the British Indian position. Incidentally, I might mention that your Johannesburg contemporary, *The Rand Daily Mail*, who had the opportunity of reading the report itself, has come to the conclusion opposite to yours, and it now asks whether, after all, the new Bill is any cure for the evil of illegal entries so far as they have been proved.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Natal Advertiser, 11-4-1907

423. CHAMNEY'S REPORT

Our Johannesburg correspondent's summary of Mr. Chamney's Report is well worth the reading. It bears out three things: Mr. Chamney's hatred of the Indian community, his lack of a sense of justice and the validity of the facts stated by the Indian community.

Mr. Chamney's hatred is in evidence in every line he has written. He has made mountains out of molehills, and has at times made unfounded statements. He says that many people sell old registers for large sums of money but has not been able to adduce any evidence. He has mentioned 876 persons as having entered without permits, but does not indicate how they did it. He does not have the rights of a magistrate and cannot therefore say of a particular person that he has entered unlawfully. He can only express his suspicion of people having entered without permits. However, when he asserts that some persons have come in without permits, it only shows his animus and lack of a sense of justice. Again, he says that the many Indians who were sent back from Durban and others who entered surreptitiously and were arrested are not included in the 876 mentioned earlier. Not one of these facts has any relevance to establishing the number of people who have entered unlawfully. He has brought in these facts only to magnify the issue.

Despite this exaggerated statement of facts, it is not proved that the Indian community gets many persons to enter without permits or that many persons do in fact enter without them. Even if Mr. Chamney's figure is correct, it will only mean that 50 permitless Indians have entered the Transvaal each month; it will be quite improper to term this an invasion. Again, Mr. Chamney's Report bears out the Indian community's statement that the new Bill is absolutely unnecessary. He points out that there is nothing in the existing law to compel a person to give his thumb-impression. This is not true, for the Indian community has never been unwilling to give thumb-impressions. Besides, if anyone refuses, he can be charged with staying on [in the Colony] without a permit and brought before a court, where he will have to give his thumb-impression. The new Bill, then, is superfluous if it is only for taking a thumb-impression. Now Mr. Chamney also says that the law as it stands is inadequate to prevent children from entering the Colony. If that were really so, then [how is it that] we do not find any restrictions in the new Bill on the entry of children accompanying their parents[?] This means that the new law does not provide that remedy and that the new Bill is therefore altogether useless. Even *The Rand*

Daily Mail now admits this. Taking all this into consideration, we see that Mr. Chamney's Report cannot at all be taken seriously.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

424. OMAR HAJI AMOD ZAVERI'S RESIGNATION

Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri has, owing to some other very important work, resigned his office of Joint Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. Mr. Omar Zaveri is unique and unrivalled not only in Natal, but in the whole of South Africa. It is, in our view, no exaggeration at all to say that there is no Indian who is his peer. He will be leaving [for India] very shortly. In honouring him we shall be honouring ourselves. The Congress will, of course, felicitate him. But we hope that other bodies also will honour him on their own to show their appreciation of his equal regard for all. It is not necessary to hold separate functions. Other bodies besides the Congress can honour him [separately] at the same place and time; and that will only be proper.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

425. TALE OF WOE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Many persons have suggested to us that we should publish an account of the hardships we suffer in South Africa. The book should include a translation of petitions, etc., up to date. There is no doubt that such a book[1], if published, would be useful and give much food for thought. It may perhaps run to a thousand pages and cannot be brought out at a low price. A copy will cost five shillings. We cannot venture on such a publication unless a sale of 500 copies is assured in advance. We shall be in a position to consider the matter further, if the gentlemen who wish to see the book in print write to us further about it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

[1] It was not, however, published.

426. EX-SUPERINTENDENT ALEXANDER

For a long time now, the discussion has gone on about presenting an address, on behalf of the Indian community, to Mr. Alexander, the retired Police Superintendent. Much time has elapsed since. The longer we take over it the more it reveals our fickleness. We therefore suggest to the leaders of the community that they fulfil without further delay the task undertaken by them.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

427. PROFESSOR GOKHALE'S GREAT ENDEAVOUR

Prof. Gokhale is at present on a tour of India; [he is visiting] and making speeches at a number of places on the [political] situation in the country. The principal aim of this tour is to bring Hindus and Muslims together. Wherever he goes, both the communities heartily welcome him. They entertain him at dinner parties—a thing which did not happen before. In the course of his tour he visited the Aligarh College, where the students welcomed him with great respect. In a speech on the occasion, he pointed out that, without self-help, we would not be rid of our miseries. He was the guest of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk of the College. A magnificent banquet was given there in his honour. He also visited Allahabad, Lucknow, Lahore, Amritsar and other places, and through his speeches he has contributed towards awakening and unifying the people.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

428. EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Dr. Abdul Gani, the Head of [the] Education [Department] in Afghanistan, is setting up schools in Kabul. He has divided Kabul into forty wards for that purpose. Besides, the work of translating good books for Habibia University is also going on. So is the task of imparting medical education. A programme of industrial education is likely to start this month. They are also thinking of sending out students for education in Europe and Japan at state expense.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

429. INDIAN LANDOWNERS IN DURBAN

The following schedule gives the value of land [in pounds] in the possession of Indians during 1906-7.

WARD	INDIAN LAND	OTHER	TOTAL
1	14,480	1140,570	1155,050
2	26,600	1449,150	1475,750
3	19,690	1938,340	1958,030
4	340,790	1857,770	2198,560
5	45,920	1316,910	1362,830
6	105,680	907,530	1014,210[1]
7	28,380	932,620	951,000[2]
	532,540[3]	9542,890	10125,430[4]

One sees from the table that the value of land held by Indians is only 5 per cent. of the total value of the land in the country. In fact, it is likely that some of this land is mortgaged. The whites' fears are therefore unwarranted.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

430. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Deputation to Smuts

I wrote last week that a deputation would wait upon Mr. Smuts and place before him the resolution passed at the mass meeting.[5] Mr. Smuts had fixed Thursday the 4th for the interview. Under a special arrangement with the General Manager of the Railways, Messrs Abdul Gani, Coovadia, Essop Mian, Haji Ojer Ally, Moonlight and Gandhi travelled from Johannesburg to Pretoria by the 8.35 express train. At Pretoria they were joined by Messrs Mahomed Haji Joosab and Gaurishankar Vyas. They reached the Colonial Office exactly at 12, where Mr. Chamney was also present.

Mr. Gandhi narrated all the facts to Mr. Smuts. He reminded Mr. Smuts that the Indian community had had itself registered several times. He said that Mr. Chamney's Report supported the Indian contention and showed in other ways also that the Indians were trustworthy. It was with the help of the Indian community that officials of

[1], [2], [3] & [4] Clearly, these figures contain printing errors.

[5] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 391.

the Asiatic Office who took bribes had been arrested. Taking all this into consideration, Mr. Gandhi said, the Government should, on this occasion, agree to the proposal of voluntary registration made in the Second Resolution passed by the mass meeting.

Then Mr. Haji Ojer Ally advanced further arguments to bear out what Mr. Gandhi had said and drew Mr. Smuts's attention to the loyalty of the Indian community. Messrs Abdul Gani and Essop Mian also used other arguments and pointed out the difficulties they had in bringing servants, etc. [from India].

Mr. Smuts listened to this carefully for more than three quarters of an hour. At the end he said that he had heard several things for the first time, and these he said he would inquire into and send a written reply[1]; but the deputation should not interpret this to mean that the Government would agree to the Second Resolution.

This reply means that a situation has now arisen which is similar to that which existed when the Deputation waited upon Lord Elgin, and that the Second Resolution might have some effect if a third party could explain the matter to Mr. Smuts. Accordingly, Mr. Polak saw Mr. Gregorowski on Friday, and the latter expressed sympathy. Much appears to depend on Mr. Chamney. If he says that he can, according to the Indian proposal, register people without legislation, Mr. Smuts will very probably accept it. Mr. Polak appears to have done very good work at Pretoria. He spent the whole of Friday meeting people. He saw the editors of the *Pretoria News* and *The Transvaal Advertiser*, and also Mr. De Vet. None of them had really understood the facts before, but they have now begun to do so and have moreover promised to give all possible help.

CHAMNEY'S REPORT[2]

Mr. Chamney's Report for the year 1906 has been published. It says that 12,899 permits had been issued to Asiatics till December 31, 1905. The Government's decision was to issue permits to those Asiatics who had been resident in the Transvaal before the war. It was difficult to ascertain who the old residents of the Transvaal were as the registers maintained before 1899 had been lost. Moreover, as receipts were issued [without names?] to those who paid the £3 tax, it was impossible to determine who had paid the amount [*sic*]. Many persons used to sell these certificates at high prices. Of the 12,543 permit-holders, 4,144 had earlier paid £3 each. On some registers it was found that something had been over-written in Hindustani which would suggest that the registers must have originally belonged to other persons. In the issue of permits the concurrence of two authorities is at

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 423-4.

[2] *Vide* also p. 413.

present necessary. The first is that of the Coast Agent posted at Durban who investigates and the other of the Advisory Boards which have been set up at various places and include Europeans. At Johannesburg the investigation is made by the Police Commissioner, and no permit is issued to anyone who fails to produce satisfactory evidence. In all, 598 permits were issued from 1905 to December 1906; 3,286 applications for permits were rejected. Of these, 1,240 were Indian and 1,238 Chinese. In addition to these, there are many Asiatics in the Transvaal who have entered the Colony without a permit or with permits belonging to others. All these persons cannot be apprehended as they cannot all be forced to give their thumb-impressions. Such persons number 876. Of these, 215 have been prosecuted and sentenced. This figure does not include those who have infiltrated into the territory undetected. Nothing can be done against them. Nor does this number include the 141 who were turned back from Durban. The greatest difficulty is met with in the case of Asiatic boys. It is not clear from the Supreme Court's decision for what [categories of] boys a permit is obligatory. Because of this many Indian boys have come in. It was for this reason that the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance was introduced. According to the 1904 census, there were 1,774 Asiatic boys below the age of 15. It was found that 417 permits had been lost. The following is the classification of Asiatics according to occupations:

	JUNE 1905	JUNE 1906	INCREASE
General Dealers	1,054	1,105	51
Hawkers	3,086	3,587	501
Itinerant Traders	46	229	183
Agents	11	8	—
Bakers	6	5	—
Butchers	43	40	—
[Keepers of] Eating-houses	63	8	—
Washermen	32	60	28
Grocers	135	131	—
Milkmen	4	3	—
Fruiterers	19	11	—

In addition to all this [information] a list of the places where Indian Locations have been established is also given in the Report.

COMMENTS BY "THE RAND DAILY MAIL"

The Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg has strongly criticized the Report. It says that Mr. Chamney has given the reasons for restricting Asiatic immigration; but he has not been able to show that anything more than the existing Act is necessary. Mr. Chamney's Report conclusively shows that the present procedure has failed. If that is so, that procedure is not likely to change under the new law. There is no

reason to believe that any great change will be effected in the matter of taking ten finger-prints instead of the thumb-impression. What is now needed is therefore not a new law but a new procedure. If a new procedure is evolved in consultation with the leaders of the Indian community, it will be very convenient and avoid friction—which at present appears probable—with the Imperial Government. It would have been better if Mr. Chamney had, instead of merely pointing out the existing defects, shown the way for the future.

Cables to England

After the Colonial Secretary had refused to forward the cablegram about the Asiatic Bill, the President of the [British Indian] Association inquired of Lord Selborne what was to be done.[1] The latter replied that he could not interfere with what the local Government had done. So last Saturday, the Association sent a long cablegram[2] directly to Lord Elgin. A brief cablegram[3] regarding the deputation was also sent to the South Africa British Indian Committee. These cablegrams cost £28.

For Hawkers

The Chamber of Commerce has suggested the enactment of a special law for hawkers. One of the suggestions is that no hawker should be permitted to stop for business at the same spot for more than 20 minutes, that no hawker should visit a place twice the same day and that hawkers should be allowed to sell their wares on the main thoroughfares only. These suggestions have not yet been accepted. If they are, the plight of the hawkers will become very sad indeed.

Warning about Permits

It came to my knowledge from several sources that some persons, especially a white among them, have been selling permits to Indians. This is very likely true. Heavy sums are being paid for such permits by some Indians. I must tell them that such permits are of no use whatever. Those buying them would be committing an offence, which would be like paying for bringing trouble upon oneself. It should be easy to see that there will be no duplicates of false permits in the Permit Office and that permits of which no duplicates are available in the Permit Office will be considered faked.

Clarification of March 31 Notice

The Editor has forwarded to me a question raised by a correspondent from Johannesburg. The correspondent inquires whether

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 390.
[2] *Vide* "Cable to Secretary of State for the Colonies", pp. 408-9.
[3] *Vide* "Cable to S. A. B. I. Committee", p. 409.

the holder of a register who fails to get a permit before March 31 will be liable only to being served with a notice asking him to quit the Transvaal or if he will also be punished in some other way. The answer is that a person, charged with staying in the Transvaal without a permit, will only get a notice.

SUGGESTION TO JOHANNESBURG CORRESPONDENTS

Immediate disposal of letters and other communications will be possible if correspondents in Johannesburg send them to the Johannesburg Office of the *Opinion*. For some time is wasted in having such papers redirected from Phœnix to Johannesburg. Communications should be addressed to P. O. Box 6522.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-4-1907

431. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *April 19, 1907*]

[TO
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON]

CHINESE HAVE WRITTEN GOVERNMENT ACCEPTING INDIAN PROPOSAL. RAND DAILY MAIL ADVISES GOVERNMENT ACCEPT.[2]

[BIAS]

Colonial Office Records: C.O. 291/122

432. DUTY OF TRANSVAAL INDIANS

We invite the attention of the Transvaal Indians to a summary of Mr. Tilak's speech printed elsewhere. On them rests a great responsibility; they have passed a resolution about going to gaol in case the new Bill becomes law. Whether or not we should take an oath or whether or not the September oath still binds us is no longer a question to be decided. The important thing is that we have declared to the world our determination not to submit to the law. It is on this basis that Mr. Ritch is carrying on the struggle. On that basis too, the Deputation went to England, and on that basis several whites have been helping us. The matter is so serious that it has set even Mr. Smuts thinking. It was because the resolution about gaol-going was passed that

[1] This was forwarded by L.W. Ritch to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies on April 19.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 428.

the Kimberley people as also the Natal Congress have sent telegrams. This is no time for fear. The Transvaal Indians have to adhere steadfastly to the gaol-going Resolution for the sake of their own honour and that of the entire Indian community.

Mr. Tilak's speech applies to us also. Our demand will not be accepted until we force them to do so. The unfailing remedy of gaol-going is our [method of] boycott[1], our weapon. There can be no question of its failing. For how can there be defeat for one who has gone to gaol?

Once more we remind the Transvaal Indian community that it is because the Cape Coloureds opposed the Pass Act, refused to take out passes and went to gaol that the Cape Government does not any longer compel them to take out passes. Though the Pass Act applies to them, the Government is unable to enforce it. We should under no circumstances prove ourselves more timid than the Coloured persons. All our efforts will be in vain if we do not act up to the assurance which Mr. Ritch has given to Lord Ampthill. If the Indian community remains firm in its resolution about gaol-going, we may as well take it that the new law has not been passed at all.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-4-1907

433. ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES

Nowadays the British welcome ministers from the Colonies. Dr. Jameson who once thought of capturing the land of the Boers is being greeted with loud acclamation. Wherever he and other ministers from the Colonies go, they are profusely honoured. Nobody thinks of their faults; their virtues alone are taken into account.

All this is as it should be. Only under such conditions can the people rise. The Colonies are like the children of the British. It is nothing surprising if a father meets his children with warmth and enthusiasm, unmindful of their faults and perceptive only of their virtues. Where such a relationship obtains, the family prospers; a people, similarly, thrives on such relationships. This is one of the potent causes of the prosperity of the British. They do not envy the rise of their kith and kin.

Again the ministers who receive so much honour are brave persons. They are not the sort of persons to be overawed by others and

[1] Boycott had become an important feature of politics in India at this time.

they will take any risks for their country. That is why the British welcome them with acclamation. The Southampton Municipality presented an address to General Botha soon after he landed there. Though not an Englishman, he possesses the virtues of one and is moreover a brave fighter. He said, "There was a time when during the war I was beleaguered by the British. Today I feel happy to be surrounded by them, yet have no misgivings. Rather, I shall feel the happier if more of you gather round me." He made this speech in Dutch to show his patriotism.

Knowing all this as we do, we must not envy them; on the contrary we should congratulate them. And, if we have any public spirit, we should, like them, engage in the work of public welfare and be prepared, like them, even to die for it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-4-1907

434. LADYSMITH APPEALS

The outcome of the eleven Ladysmith appeals that were preferred to the Supreme Court has confirmed our expectations. Since the licensing court[1] gave judgement without taking any evidence, these cases cannot really be called appeals. The Supreme Court has on this ground set aside the judgement of the appellate court and ordered a re-hearing of these cases. The eleven applicants who have been refused licences can appeal again. And if, after taking evidence, the appellate court still refuses obstinately to issue a licence, there is nothing the applicants can do.

It is a bad thing that in this case the court has not allowed costs to the appellants, as it did in the Somnath Maharaj case. If costs had been allowed, the appellate court would have been a little more careful. We cannot regard the [result of the] appeals as a complete victory. The Licensing Act remains what it has always been. But since we did not expect any sensational result, there is no cause for despair. The Natal Indian Congress must persevere with the struggle. If adequate efforts are made, the licensing act will be repealed.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-4-1907

[1] Tribunal

435. CHANGES IN EGYPT

Lord Cromer has relinquished the post of British Comptroller-General in Egypt, mentioning his ill-health as the reason. He introduced many reforms in Egypt. He gave the Egyptian people education, thus awakening in them a national consciousness. Now the same Egyptians have risen against Lord Cromer, because he wants to dispose of unlimited powers. Sir Eldon Gorst has been appointed in his place. It is said that Sir Eldon will adhere to the policy of Lord Cromer. However, the Liberal Press in England recognizes and desires that more power should be granted to the Egyptian people. The Egyptian Press also hopes that the change in the office will result in the devolution of more power to the people. In any case, it is clear that the members of the Liberal Party today desire that people all over the British Empire should enjoy a greater share of power [in government].

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-4-1907

436. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Colonial Secretary's Reply

I have already reported on the deputation.[1] The following is the reply[2] received from Mr. Smuts.

> 1. I am obliged to the Indian community for your letter of the 30th and for the representation made to me during the Indian deputation's interview with me on the Asiatic Registration Act and other subjects. Objecting to the new Act the deputation said that it would only serve to harass the Indian community, that it was unnecessary in view of the community's willingness to take out new registers voluntarily, and that it was humiliating because it made registration compulsory. The deputation also pointed out that the [Indian] grievance regarding land rights under Law[3] of 1885 was not being redressed, and that the difficulties experienced by those coming to the Colony for a temporary stay should be remedied.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 416-7.

[2] Smuts had promised a written reply to the Indian deputation which met him in connection with the new Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act. *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 417.

2. All this has been carefully considered and I have to point out that Section 17 of the new Act provides for the issue of a temporary permit.

3. As for land rights, I regret to say that the Government can grant no more relief than the specific reference in Section 21 to the land belonging to a particular person.[1]

4. As for the other grounds on which objections have been raised against the Act, I have to assure you that the Government intends no insult to the Asiatic community. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the question of marks which will make the identification of Asiatic people possible is full of difficulties. The main aim of the new Act is to adopt such means as will make it easy to identify persons of that community with a view to ascertaining who are entitled to reside here. The new Act is necessary to achieve this object. I regret to have to say that the suggestion made by the deputation about fresh registration cannot be accepted. For doing so a proviso for compulsory registration is necessary. Moreover, I cannot see how you could say with certainty that your word would be binding on other Asiatic communities, and particularly on those residing without a permit.

5. There is no doubt that many whites hold that a number of Asiatics is infiltrating into this territory without permits. And they also find that people have been doing so because there is no adequate law in force to identify the [lawfully resident] Asiatics. It is not possible for the Government to ignore this feeling. Moreover, the Government has strong evidence of such unlawful infiltration. Considering this matter, I am sorry to find that, in your meeting and speeches, people have been advised to disobey the law by not registering themselves. In your own interests, I expect you will not advocate a course of action that will make it impossible for us to grant special concessions to your community. I sincerely hope therefore that your community, which has always had the privilege of being considered law-abiding, will maintain its reputation in the matter and that Indians will co-operate with the Government in every way by registering themselves lawfully, gracefully and expeditiously. The Act has been framed in the interests of both the Asiatics and the whites. If the Act were regarded as not binding, greater pressure would be brought on the Government as well as parliament to take more stringent measures to prevent Asiatics from entering without a permit.

[1] The reference is to the specific provision exempting the heirs of Abubaker Amod Zaveri from Law 3 of 1885 and other laws relating to ownership of land by Indians. *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to J. D. Rees", p. 99.

Reflections on Reply

The reply is at once good and bad, timorous and threatening. I call it good because it is courteous. If the Government wanted to disregard the Indian community altogether, they could have disposed of the matter with a two-line reply, without giving reasons. The reason why I call it bad is that Mr. Smuts hesitates to accept even our most reasonable demands. It is timorous, because of the ideas [of Indians], [their] resolutions and speeches on the subject of gaol-going, the Government is afraid that the Indian community may [actually] display such strength, for then the Act may be proved ineffective. It is threatening, because the Government, being frightened as we have shown above, hold out the threat that, if we do not accept the law, more stringent measures will follow; they hope that they can avoid a difficult situation if, under the threat of severe consequences, we can be made to give up the idea of going to gaol.

Now what is to be done? The present is a crucial moment. If we are imbued with the right spirit and care for our honour, we shall win. We should certainly not be cowed down by the Government's threat, for what greater pain can they inflict on us than the law they have already passed? What greater harm can be done to a man than to divest him of his honour? On the one hand, we are being persuaded to help in enforcing the law and, on the other, they pass an act which proclaims that, in the whole Indian community, there is not a single person trustworthy enough to be exempted from holding a registration certificate, that is, a "thief pass". We are first made out to be thieves and our help is then sought in enforcing the law!

Nowhere is it stated [in Mr. Smuts's reply] that even a single right will be granted to us. The land right has been flatly denied. Locations still loom before our eyes. What further humiliation can be inflicted on those who have been degraded to the lowest depths? In the present age and according to European standards, there can be no love without fear. We have the example of Mr. Smuts's own people with whom the British Government argued in a similar fashion. They told President Kruger that it would be better to concede certain rights to the British, else the Dutch would have to suffer. President Kruger paid no heed to such bland words. Nor was he afraid of the threat. He himself remained courageous and inspired bravery in his people, and thus immortalized them and himself. As a result, the people have today regained what was once theirs. Many Dutchmen died on the battle-field; their women and children were ruined. But the survivors rule today. Thus those who lost their lives are not dead, but have become immortal. We shall win only if we do the same, but somewhat differently. All the assurances that Mr. Smuts or others may offer are to be shunned like

sugar-coated pills of poison. If we turn back now, we may be sure that we shall for ever remain entrapped. It was thoughts such as these that impelled the meeting of the Association on Thursday the 11th to send Mr. Smuts a letter over the signature of its Acting Chairman, Mr. Essop Mian. It is politely worded, but upholds our honour. A translation of it is given below:

ASSOCIATION'S REPLY

I have received your letter of the 8th instant about the suggestion of the Indian community regarding the Asiatic Bill. My Association is very grateful to the Government for its detailed and sympathetic reply. However, I approach them with a request to reconsider the matter in the light of the following. The objections raised by the Indian community are so important, and the suggestion it has made so just and proper that my Association finds it necessary to persuade the Government to accept it.

May I take the liberty of reminding you that, under Lord Milner's advice, the Indian community had agreed to registration on the same lines as now proposed, and that the Chinese community had also accepted it? My Association would humbly state that there is no need to make a promise, as the proposal is such that it could be immediately implemented. Moreover, it can be ascertained, without loss of time, how many Asiatics are agreeable to taking out the new registers in place of their present permits.

Your Honour's letter raises the question of permitless persons. But that question does not arise from our suggestion or from the new Act. For in neither case will such men be able to obtain permits. When fresh registration is completed, it will remain only to detect those without permits, and to serve them with 'quit' notices for unlawful residence in the Colony.

My Association admits that European residents are excited about many Indians entering the Colony without permits and it is for that very reason that my community has made the foregoing suggestion which provides for adequate means of our identification. And when the existing documents are withdrawn [after the issue of new registers,] there will be no difficulty about identification. However, I must say that, whatever the means for establishing identity, those bent on entering surreptitiously will continue to do so anyhow. I must also add that not many persons enter in this manner and that Mr. Chamney's Report is enough proof of it.

My Association therefore prays that the Government reconsider the matter, and hopes that, after doing so, they will come to entertain a better opinion of the Indian community's proposal.

You refer to the Resolutions about defying the law. We must point out in reply that there can be no question of defying the law at all. However, if, for any reason, Indians' respect for the law is put to a severe strain and if in that context the community seeks to vindicate its honour and prestige, the only way open to it will be to submit to the ultimate penalty prescribed by law, that is, to go to gaol. Such action cannot be construed as a desire on the part of the Indian community to disobey the law. However, the community desires humbly to point out that the new law gravely offends against its feelings. It implies that the Indian community wishes to defeat the objects of the law. On the contrary, through this suggestion, the community [seeks to] fulfil the intention of the law. My Association therefore humbly requests that the Indian proposal be given a trial before the law is enforced. It makes this suggestion in the conviction that all Asiatic communities will act according to it.

Consequence of Reply

It cannot be predicted how the Government will react to this reply. But it is certain that it will set the Government thinking. They have themselves raised the question of gaol-going. If we retract now, that will only serve to show up the abjectness of the community. The reply has in it neither bitterness nor threat. It is polite but firm, and reflects the courageous mood of the community.

Chinese Move

The Chinese leaders met last Saturday at Mr. Gandhi's office and resolved to support the Indian community. The Chinese Consul has also given them similar advice. It is thus seen that we get support from all quarters.

Asiatic Eating-houses

Notwithstanding the Association's struggle against the regulations concerning Asiatic eating-houses, they have been passed and already published in the *Government Gazette*. Those who run eating-houses therefore must take out licences. It should be remembered that, if their kitchens and dining-rooms are not found absolutely clean, they will not be issued a licence.

Rumour of Assent to New Law

A rumour was going the rounds here that Lord Elgin had approved the new law. On an enquiry by the Association it was learnt that no such thing had happened and that the rumour was unfounded.

Warning

Great caution is necessary in this matter. In spite of the tremendous efforts being made, Lord Elgin may after all append his signature to the law. It is desirable therefore that those engaged in trade should take out a shopkeeper's or hawker's licence for the whole year. If they do that, their trade will not be affected at least this year even if the law should come into force. If in the meanwhile gaol-going is resorted to, the law cannot but be repealed ultimately.

Chinese Approval

The Chinese have sent a telegram to the Government saying that they are opposed to the law and that they approve of the Indian community's proposal.[1]

Comment by "The Rand Daily Mail"

On this, *The Rand Daily Mail* has made a good comment. It says that now that the Chinese have endorsed the Indian proposal, all Asiatic communities can be said to have turned against the Act. It behoved the Government, therefore, to accept the Indian proposal. It was legitimate for the Indian community to object to the law, and its feelings should not be hurt.

Rejoinder to Chamney

The Rand Daily Mail has published a long rejoinder by the English editor of this paper to Mr. Chamney's Report[2]. It has been printed in the column next to the leader. It will be published in two instalments.

Osman Latief's Letter

Mr. Osman Latief, under the pen-name of "British Indian", has written a letter to the local Press, in which he has pointed out that the Indian community has taken out registers several times, that the objection based on competition in trade is untenable, and that justice must be done to the Indian community, keeping in view Queen Victoria's assurances and those of others and the community's own readiness to share in the defence of the British Empire.

Cable to Committee

A cable has been sent to the South Africa British Indian Committee communicating the Chinese approval [of the Indian proposal] and the support of *The* [*Rand*] *Daily Mail*, and inquiring about the state of the movement in England.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-4-1907

[1] *Vide* also "Cable to S. A. B. I. Committee", p. 420.

[2] *Vide* "Chamney's Report", p. 413 and "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 417-8.

437. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
April 20, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

With reference to the £10 withdrawn by Harilal from your father at Rajkot, I am crediting the Press with £10 and debiting my private account, and, I take it, you will withdraw the £10 from the Press, unless you have done so already.

With reference to the entry of £4 re. Kaliandas, the book here seems to be in order. When the month was finished, £3 was debited to the Press and credited to Kaliandas, £4 debited to the Office and credited to Kaliandas. Evidently, it should have been £4 against the Press and £3 against the Office, which will now be done. Further, what has to be done here is to pass a debit against the Press of £1. These entries will be correct, if, at the time, you did not make any entries there, that is to say, if you did not credit Kaliandas independently of entries sent from here. If you did, you will now have to make cross-entries. I assume also that no moneys passed from you to Kaliandas, because, in my ledger £7 has been credited to him.

I have now received the household account. They seem to have spent money lavishly, and, yet, there is very little in detail I can take exception to. I notice also that the piano has not yet been debited to me, unless I have overlooked it in going through it hurriedly, so that the amount will be increased by another £10. Is that so?

I am intensely dissatisfied with Gokaldas' betrothal, for I understand that he has actually paid Rs. 2,000 in order to bring about the betrothal. I do not know whether I have understood the thing correctly. If it is in respect of jewellery, the matter is not so open to criticism. I have meagre details about it. If you know anything definite, I should like to know what has actually happened.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I am sending you 3 numbers of *The Times of India*. After you have seen and admired pictures I want you to cut out Gaekwar, the Jam, and the Cricket Team. We might one of these days want to reproduce these pictures as supplements, and it would be better for you also to file any other pictures you may come across and consider good enough for use.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 4734

438. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS GANDHI

[About *April 20, 1907*][1]

RESPECTED SIR,

I have received your letter. I wish to answer it with the utmost calmness and as fully as possible. I shall first put my thoughts before you as they come to my mind, and then answer your questions.

I am afraid our outlooks differ widely and I see no possibility, for the present, of their being reconciled. You seek peace and happiness through money. I don't depend on money for my peace; and for the moment at any rate my mind is quite calm and able to stand any amount of suffering.

Like you, I too believe in the old traditions, but there is a difference in our beliefs. For you believe in age-old superstitions, while I not only do not but consider it sinful to believe in them.

You desire to attain *moksha*[2], so do I. Nevertheless, your notion of that state seems to be widely different from mine. Though I have the highest regard for you, untainted by any mean or selfish thought, you harbour hatred for me in your mind. The reason for this, as I see it, is that you are overcome by attachment and maintain relationships for selfish ends. Though you do this unconsciously, the result is practically the same as I have indicated. If you have really got to the stage of striving for *moksha*, you should remain calm and unperturbed and forget all about me, even if I am extremely sinful and may be deceiving you. But you are not able to do so because of your excessive attachment. This is what I believe; but if I am wrong in holding this belief, I prostrate myself at your feet and beg to be forgiven.

But whether or not you are overcome by greed and attachment, I am not worried. It does not affect my love for you. My regard for you does not decrease in the least, and I am ready to render you any service that I can and look upon it as my duty.

I fail to understand what you mean by the word "family". To me, the family includes not only the two brothers but the sister as well. It also includes our cousins. Indeed, if I could say so without arrogance, I would say that my family comprises all living beings: the only difference being that those who are more dependent on me, because of blood

[1] The original carries no date; however, *vide* the preceding item where Gandhiji refers to Gokuldas's betrothal, while in this letter (p. 431) he refers to the forthcoming marriage.

[2] Liberation as the goal of life

relationship or other circumstances, get more help from me. Hence it was that I took out an insurance policy in my wife's favour. And this I did because of your bitter letters to me when I was in Bombay and in order to escape your imprecations in case the responsibility for [supporting] my wife and children fell on you, as I was at that time engaged in helping the plague-stricken. Though I am myself against insurance, I took out an insurance policy for these and other reasons. If by any chance you die before me, you may be sure that I shall myself [serve as] an insurance policy for your wife and children. I beseech you to feel secure on this account. I would cite the case of Raliatbehn in this context.

If Raliatbehn does not stay with you, I do not consider that to be due to any fault of mine, but hold your nature responsible. I would humbly remind you that mother was not happy with you, nor at any time were any of the other relatives.

If Gokuldas and Harilal have gone astray, I am not responsible. Gokuldas left me and was spoiled by the pernicious atmosphere there; the same thing happened with Harilal to some extent. Nevertheless, neither of them has become as corrupt as you think. They have better character than other boys. It is only when I judge them by a standard of my own that I find them lacking. Harilal has greatly profited by coming here and, if I mistake not, his character has improved. Since Harilal is already betrothed, I have nothing to say against it. At the same time I cannot say that I am pleased about it.

I consider it wrong too that Gokuldas is going to get married. That it has become necessary for the two brothers to get married is due to the sensual atmosphere there. It is not any dislike for the country but the grief I feel for its present sorry plight that prompts me to say this.

Fortunately, Manio[1], Ramo[2] and Devo[3] are here, and are growing up in a healthy atmosphere. I do not therefore worry about their betrothal. To my way of thinking, it is necessary for many Indians to observe *brahmacharya*, even if they get married. If, therefore, all the three boys were to die unmarried, I shouldn't be sorry but should rejoice instead. However, if when they come of age they wish to marry, I am sure that they will find suitable brides. It would cause you great sorrow if I were to give my answer to the question, "What is to be done if no girl is to be had from our caste?"; so I would, with your permission, rather not answer this question. I repeat that it is the divine law that one gets fruits according to one's faith and therefore this problem does not arise in my mind at all.

Chhaganlal, Maganlal and Anandlal are members of our family, hence service done to them is service done to the family. They have

[1], [2] & [3] Manilal, Ramdas and Devdas, sons of Gandhiji

become better men after coming to Phœnix and I see their moral sense developed.

As to your demand for a hundred rupees a month, I must say that I see neither the means at present nor the need of meeting it. I run the Phœnix Press with borrowed money. Moreover, I may have to go to gaol in the course of the struggle here against the new Ordinance. In that case I may become poorer still. This will come about in a month or two. I am therefore unable at present to do anything to satisfy you. If, however, the condition here improves during the next few months and I am free from trouble, I shall try to send you the money you have asked for by money order with the sole intention of pleasing you.

I do agree that you and Karsandas have [the right to] a share in my earnings. But I spend much less on my personal enjoyment than you do [on yours]. My earnings are what remains after meeting all the charges here. My object in staying here was not to make money but to serve the people; hence I deem it my duty to use for the benefit of the people whatever is left over after meeting the expenditure on the family here. So please don't think that I am making money here. At this point I would remind you that between you two brothers I have already paid nearly Rs. 60,000. I cleared all the debts while I was there; and you told me that no more money was wanted. It was only after this that I began spending money here. I handed over all my savings in Natal to you; and I have not kept a penny for myself either from that amount or from my subsequent earnings. From this you will see that I have paid back much more than the Rs. 13,000 spent on me during my stay in England. In saying this I do not mean to suggest that I have done you a favour. I only state the bare facts to pacify your anger.

What Mr. Fitzgerald told you about me only shows that he does not know the facts.

I shall now answer your questions[1]. These I return herewith.

1. The object of sending me to England was that we, all the three of us, might thereby maintain the status of our father more or less, be well off and enjoy the good things of life.

2. The risk was indeed great as we had decided to stake whatever we had on my education.

3. As those who had promised to help us did not keep their word, you worked hard, and even at the cost of your health, ungrudgingly gave me as much money as I asked for. This shows your magnanimity and your affection for a younger brother.

4. When we were reduced to the condition described in this question, I did feel—I vaguely recollect—that I would earn enough

[1] Lakshmidas's letter containing the questions is not available.

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FROM LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS GANDHI

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FROM LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS GANDHI

to satisfy you and make you forget the hardships you underwent for my sake.

5. This I do not recollect, as father himself had started selling the property and we did the same after him.

6. This is but natural.

7. I must say with deep sorrow that, on account of your extravagant and thoughtless way of life, you have squandered a lot of money on pleasures and on pomp and show. You kept a horse and carriage, gave parties, and spent money on selfish friends; and some money was spent in what I consider immoral ways.

8. I remember to have sold them. I am not at all ashamed of it, neither do I regret it.

9. I do not remember to have sold them secretly without your knowledge; even if I had done so, I do not mind it.

10. Though I did not replace that jewellery, I have already paid its value in cash and much more besides. However, if I am required to do so [again], I shall certainly deposit the money in their names, that is, if I am able to save any. As for getting the jewellery made afresh, I will not do so, as I consider it a sin. When I refuse to get the jewellery made, it means that my ideas about such things have substantially changed.

11. I do not consider that I have obliged you by doing this. Even if nothing was done for me, whatever I have to do for my blood-brother I would do as a matter of duty. If then I do anything for one who spent a great deal on my account, it would be doubly my duty to do so.

12. I am not the master of my earnings, since I have dedicated my all to the people. I do not suffer from the illusion that it is I who earn; I simply believe that God gives me the money for making good use of it.

13. I do recognize your [right to a] share in all my earnings; but since there is no such thing as an income for me now, what can I send you?

14. I am not spending your share [on myself]; but I use all the money that God gives me for the public good. If anything is left over after what has been used for this purpose, I would like to send you all of it, not just your share of it.

15. I don't have the faintest recollection of having robbed you or anyone else. If I regard all living beings as equal both from the practical and the moral points of view, it is in the fitness of things that those who are more dependent on me have a greater claim on me. That is to say, I should help my wife and sons first and then those who are helpless and have therefore a claim on me. If, on the other hand, my wife and sons find their means of living independently of me, they may be left alone and others who are helpless and depend on me will have

precedence. This means that Goko[1], if he were not earning, would have a prior claim to Hariyo's[2] if the latter were earning. If all of them are earning and you are not, yours will be the first claim. Moreover, if all of you were working, but Purshottam was not and he were still with us, his would be the first claim. This claim pertains only to maintenance and not to the illusory worldly pleasures. Whatever other questions of a subsidiary nature arise out of the above, you will be able to answer for yourself. All this is written without any bad motive whatever.

16. The answer to this question is contained in the previous one.

17. I have no objection whatever to your showing this letter or any portion of it to anyone you like. I do not know who should judge as between us. I am at your command. I am in no way your equal and no one therefore can compare us and pronounce judgement. However, I shall hear what those to whom you show this letter have to say and shall reply to them according to my lights.

I revere you as you are my elder brother. Our religion bids us treat our elders with veneration. I implicitly believe in that injunction. But I have greater regard for truth. This too is taught by our religion. If you find anything objectionable in what I say, please accept my assurance that I have answered all your questions with the greatest regard for truth, and not in order to hurt you or be rude. Formerly, there was no difference of opinion or misunderstanding between us, hence you had affection for me. Now you have turned away from me because my views have changed, as I have said. Since you consider this change has been for the worse, I can quite understand that some of my answers will not be acceptable to you. But as the change in my ideas is due to my pursuit of truth, I am quite helpless. My devotion to you remains the same as before; it has simply assumed a new form. All this I shall explain to you most humbly and at length some day when we meet and if you want me to tell you about it. But I am unable to say when I can leave this country because of the peculiar circumstances and my several obligations here.

Do please believe me when I say that I have written all this with the best of intentions. If you do that, your displeasure will cease. Wherever you think that I am erring, please bear with me.

I have shared your letter with Hariyo, because, after all, whatever you may think, we both belong to the older generation, and though you write with extreme indignation . . .[3] it shows the true nature . . .[4] to

[1] Gokuldas

[2] Harilal, Gandhiji's eldest son

[3] & [4] These portions in the original, about half a line each, are undecipherable.

leave me. And I am getting him to copy this letter so that you may have no difficulty in reading it and he may know how I have answered your angry letter and may learn whatever he can from it according to his *karma*[1].

From a photostat of the original Gujarati draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9524

439. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
Sunday, [April 21, 1907][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

In her letter received here today your aunt writes that your wife has had another son and that both mother and child are well. I should like to know, if possible, how much each of your two sons weighs. I would particularly advise you to see that the child's bed and other linen are quite clean. Do not allow the useless and wicked superstitions about untouchability to come in your way. Use a cradle in preference to a hammock. I would like your son to be as healthy as Mrs. Polak's.

Please ask Thakkar to translate the speech read by Mr. Fitzgerald on the occasion of Ranjit Singh's accession to the *gadi* and the latter's reply which are [both] reported in *The Times of India*. Please reproduce these in English also if possible. Both are good. There is an article about us in one of the issues of that paper; please get a cutting and send it to me. I forgot to take one myself.

Please let me know how you are faring there. How do you feel in your mind? How do you find yourself in relation to West? What do you think about your going [to England]?

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I am sending some Gujarati matter today. There must be some overflow matter from last week. I sent some on Saturday, that is, yesterday[3] and hope to send more tomorrow. You did well to send me the *Maratha*, but according to our arrangement, you ought to have passed it on to Thakkar for translation. However, if that is what you are already doing but have sent this particular issue to me for translation, I have nothing to say.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4737

[1] Accumulated effect of all past actions

[2] The date of receipt is mentioned as April 24, 1907. The preceding Sunday was April 21.

[3] The original reads, "...some on Saturday, some yesterday", etc.

440. LETTER TO KALYANDAS MEHTA

[JOHANNESBURG,]
April 23, 1907

MY DEAR KALIANDAS,

I have not heard from you at all for some time. Do wake up. I enclose herewith the Deed of Transfer No. 1287 of 1906 in favour of Foolmania[1]. There was a messenger from her yesterday saying that she was ill, and required the title deed. I am, therefore, sending it to you there, and, if there is a call for it, hand it over after taking a receipt. Inquire also why it is wanted.

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4736

441. COLONIAL CONFERENCE AND INDIANS

Lord Milner has written an article about the Colonial Conference from which we publish elsewhere an extract relating to Indians. It is clear from this that there is commotion everywhere over the hardships of Indians in South Africa. To Lord Milner's way of thinking, India is more valuable than the Colonies, and if ever a question arose as to whether the British should lose the Colonies or India, they would decide to give up the Colonies rather than India. But it is in our hands to decide when such an eventuality should arise. If we could rid ourselves of all our shortcomings, then such a situation can be said already to exist. So long as the officials can persuade [the British people] that we shall put up with any amount of suffering, they will believe in the Colonies and the burden on the Indian people will increase. This is the way of the world. The rich grow richer, the poor poorer. The burden on those who carry it increases and those who do not carry any go unscathed. The moral is that we have to let the Government know that we in the Colony will not stand any more burden.

Lord Milner also adds that India is vital to the entire English nation as well as the Colonies. Its value is immeasurable. Why should it not be so? Her revenues total £44 million (a million=10 lakhs). Out of this £22 million are spent on the military department, that is, a major portion of this amount is spent in paying the salaries of the British soldiers and buying British goods. A third part of the £44 million, that is, about

[1] Wife of Budrea, a client of Gandhiji

£15 million, goes straight to England. Only the balance remains in India. This means that in the partnership between the British and the Indians 83 per cent. of the profit goes to the British and 17 per cent. to the Indians; but the entire capital comes from the Indians. Such a partnership is evidently advantageous to the British. Let us now turn to the Colonies. Here, all the capital is provided by the British but the profit is consumed by the Colonies. If anyone asks the reason of this one-sided justice, the only reply is that the Colonies being strong have the lion's share. They can stand up to England. If we become as strong as they, we too shall get justice. A closed mouth catches no flies; that is the policy of the British. But speaking does not mean mere shouting. It must be accompanied by kicking. The way we can kick in South Africa or in India is to go to gaol. If we do not help in the oppression that is being perpetrated on us, we shall be free. It is only when the axe is fitted with a wooden handle that it can cut wood.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

442. MALARIA AROUND DURBAN[1]

Malaria is still raging among Indians. To deal with this, a committee has been formed with Dr. Nanji as Chairman and is being assisted by Indians. The daily average of patients is expected to be a hundred, and the daily expenditure £4, that is, less than a shilling per head. In view of the fact that, in addition to medicine, soup and other articles will have to be supplied to some of the patients, the expenditure of £4 a day cannot be considered excessive. It is necessary that the leaders help in this work sincerely. If requisite efforts are made, we are sure the disease can be wiped out in a short time.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

443. PURITY OF THOUGHT

What True Patriotism Is

There is far too much of self-centredness or selfishness in India today. Instead we should have concern for the nation, that is to say, be patriotic. But since we are out to improve existing conditions, we should bear in mind that concern for national interest does not imply hatred of others. Before we can hate others, we should get to the stage

[1] *Vide* "Malaria and Duty of Indians", pp. 373-4 and "Meeting of Natal Indian Congress", p. 410.

of being able to safeguard our national interest. There is hardly any immediate fear therefore of our hating foreign countries. However, what Sir William Wedderburn has written on the subject is worth reading and reflecting on. We give below a summary of his article in *The Indian Review.*

> There are some people in India today who believe that they should not approach the British Government for the redress of their grievances, for they fear that, if by any chance the British do redress their grievances, it will tighten their hold over the country, which will endanger our patriotism. This is a mistaken idea. Those who offer such advice seek to take upon their heads the sins of the Englishmen, who, priding themselves upon the colour of their skin, oppress Indians. This [idea] is moreover opposed to the movement afoot all over the world for peace and amity among mankind. Even if one replaced self-interest by the national interest, one would violate the highest morality. If a man wants to become virtuous and remain so, he will keep the highest morality in mind. And though he may not be able to act up to it, he must always aim high. He whose aim is not true will never hit his target. We should always try to climb higher in spite of our shortcomings. And this applies as much to a group or a community as to an individual. Again, it applies with added force to India for, at present, she is considering what policy, what standard of conduct, she should adopt. To serve one's own interest is low indeed; to serve the interest of the nation is to rise a step higher. He who gives up his life for his nation is considered a great man; but when the interest of the world at large is made to suffer in the nation's interest, then [serving] the latter must be considered mean and degrading. If we wish to see peace and goodwill established throughout the world, we should remember that our personal and national interests are served by the wellbeing of the whole world. The Indian people have suffered a lot during the last few years because Englishmen who pride themselves on their patriotism pursued only their self-interest. Do Indian leaders wish to imitate these selfish English people? Do they hate the sinners but love the sin? They should not become the dupes of this temptation. The real enemies of freedom and prosperity are the autocratic and tyrannical powers; not the differences of race or colour. Though the Russians have their own government, it is oppressive and is as bad as that of India. The remedy for such a situation is the getting together of good and altruistic people, wherever they be in the world. It is therefore necessary to bring together the English reformers who are strong and Indian reformers who are weak. With the relations that prevail at present between England and India, such a meeting can easily be brought about. But the relations between the two

countries have to be placed on a foundation of justice. The idea that the British are the masters and the Indians the servants must go. If this happens, England and India can stay together, befriend the world and work for the good of mankind.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

444. FRENCH INDIA

Our readers may be aware that at one time the French also tried to establish their rule in India. They have held three bases in India since then, [together] known as French India. They are Chandranagore, Pondicherry and Calicut[1]. It is often said that the French have a very sympathetic attitude towards Indians. An example of this was seen recently when the Governor of Pondicherry addressed the following letter to the Indians there:

> Citizens, I shall soon be there to see you and your country. I shall inspect your farms and bunds and hear your petitions. You may come to me with full confidence. A representative of the Republic is bound to regard all [citizens] as equals and there is only one thing between us, viz., the laws. I will give you whatever [relief] I can under those laws; and I shall explain their limitations to you quite clearly. Please do not ask me unnecessary or frivolous questions, for the time lost in answering them can be better used to solve more important problems.
>
> You are engaged in your agricultural work. I have also many jobs to attend to. So we have no time to meet in a grand hall and receive garlands of roses and jasmines. Believe me when I say that I shall come to see you without pomp or show. And I shall be glad if I meet you in simplicity. If I meet you while you are at work, I shall get to know you the better and be able to see for myself and redress your grievances.

How can a people which has such officials be unhappy?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

[1] Mahe is evidently meant.

445. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Chinese Petition on Asiatic Bill

In reply to the Chinese Association's letter about the suggestions made by the Indian community, Mr. Smuts has written saying that the Government has not agreed, and cannot agree, to them. On receipt of this reply, it is learnt, the Chinese have sent a cable to their Ambassador in England. The Chinese too are quite determined. The Secretary of the Chinese Association told me that, if the law received Royal assent, they too would go to gaol.

Committee's Cable

To the last cable sent by the Association to the British Committee, a reply has been received. It says that efforts are being made to see General Botha; a strong communication has been addressed to Lord Elgin; and a meeting of the Members of the House of Commons will take place on Wednesday. This reply was received on Thursday the 18th. A cable in *The Rand Daily Mail* of Saturday the 20th says that General Botha has agreed to meet the Committee. This is the news received to date.

What Will Be Outcome?

Because of the foregoing and the Committee's letter, there is reason to believe that the Bill will receive assent. If this happens, it is clear that gaol-going will be the only remedy left. I hear, the gaol-going resolution was once being discussed in the presence of a white official, and he laughed and said, "I don't at all believe, the Indian community will act up to such resolutions." This remark should be taken very seriously. There is no doubt at all that the Indian community has no reputation for bravery and that is why the whites dare to pass any laws they like with impunity. If the Bill becomes law and we give up the idea of gaol-going, the Indian community, we may take it, is doomed for ever.

The white official's derisive laugh shows that, if the whites had taken our gaol-going resolution seriously, they would never have introduced the Bill again. Now is the time to prove that we mean what we say. We have read about the boy who used to cry "wolf". People would rush to his help and, finding no wolf, go back irritated. When a wolf did appear, however much the boy shouted, his neighbours took it for a joke, refused to go to his help, and the boy was killed. It is now absolutely necessary to show that our cries are genuine.

Some Doubts Clarified

Though great efforts are being made to prevent the Bill becoming law, we have to be prepared on the assumption that it will be passed. Questions have been asked from many quarters. I give below a clarification of the important questions raised.

It has to be borne in mind that the whole struggle is on behalf of those who hold genuine permits, and those who are not thus equipped should therefore certainly leave the Transvaal. The pre-war residents and others, who have come after the war but hold genuine permits, have to put up a fight. Nobody can do the boys any harm. This point clarified, the important thing to understand is how the struggle is to be waged. In this regard we would say [the following]:

1. It is improbable that all the persons [who do not take out permits] will be sent to gaol or that they will all be taken to gaol at once.
2. After the law is passed, an order will be published requiring permits to be renewed within a specified period.
3. No Indian should get his permit renewed within that period.
4. At the expiry of the period, the Government can arrest any person, if they choose, for residing in the Transvaal without a permit.
5. It cannot be said for certain who will be arrested and where.
6. Suppose, a poor Indian is arrested. If he holds a lawful permit, Mr. Gandhi, as he declared last September, will defend him in the court free of charge.
7. At the time Mr. Gandhi himself will say that he had advised the entire community not to take out permits as required by the new law but instead to go to gaol in all humility, and that was why his client had not taken out a fresh permit.
8. When the counsel himself says this, it is possible that the defaulter may be set free and the counsel arrested. That is, Mr. Gandhi will be arrested and his client let off. At that time, a similar deposition will, if possible, be made on behalf of the Association also.
9. However, it is possible that the arrested person may himself be sentenced. In that case, the first punishment may be that he will be asked to leave the Colony within a specified time.
10. At the expiry of the time-limit, the person will be re-arrested and sentenced to fine or imprisonment for disobeying the court's order.
11. As the person concerned will refuse to pay the fine, he will have to go to gaol.
12. If many persons are thus prosecuted and all of them go to gaol, the chances are that they will be soon released and the law amended suitably.
13. It is possible that, if such a person does not leave the Colony after being released from gaol, he will be sent back to gaol.

14. The wife and children of a person so going to gaol will, if necessary, be maintained on subscriptions from the public.

This, in brief, is likely to be the position. In fact, the step [proposed] is not at all dangerous. As shopkeepers and hawkers will have taken out their licences for the whole year, they will have no difficulty in carrying on their business. A shopkeeper can entrust his shop to any other person and himself enjoy life in gaol. For hawkers there will be no difficulty at all. I know from experience that many of them have been living such a miserable life that they will be much better off in gaol. There is no disgrace attached to going to gaol on this occasion; on the contrary, it will positively add to one's prestige. There is no need, therefore, for anyone to take fright or lose courage. As I said in an earlier letter[1], if anyone has any questions to ask in this matter, he should address them directly to the Editor, P.O. Box No. 6522, Johannesburg, so that the replies can be published in these columns. Meanwhile, I would appeal to all Indians to note that this gaol-going is a great adventure, and that no Indian must retract. Else it will be like losing a battle already won.

"How Bad These Indians Are!"

With reference to the strong criticism of Mr. Chamney's Report made by the editor of this paper in *The Rand Daily Mail* a white from Leydenburg, under the pen-name "Just", has written an unjust letter, in which he says:

> All the seven days in the week are working days for the Indians and they work from sunrise to sunset. On Sundays they write up their account books and hawkers settle their accounts. Others either keep the shop open on holidays blatantly or station a man outside to smuggle customers in. Moreover, Indian merchants in rural areas examine samples brought by agents on Sundays so that the latter too can work all the days in the week. The Indians know nothing about making payments on time. It is the usual practice with them to turn a 90-day credit into one for 150 days. It is not unusual for them to settle a creditor's account by paying him only a part of his dues. There are countless insolvent Indians carrying on business in their own names or in those of their relatives. The intelligence they show in the use of pleas while purchasing goods [on credit] is equalled only by the denseness they feign in explaining away their insolvency. Ninety-five per cent. of all Indian trade is corrupt. An Indian will not lose a customer and will sell him goods even at a loss, for the loss is to be suffered not by him, but by his creditor. Traders who deal with such Indians are of course no less to blame.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 420.

> Only if, following the example of the Orange River Colony, the Tranasvaal too closes down Indian shops with or without compensation, will clean trade be possible for European traders in towns such as Standerton, Heidelberg, Ermilom and Klerksdorp.

Referring to this letter, the editor of *The* [*Rand Daily*] *Mail* says that, if what "Just" says is all true, one fails to see how so many Europeans trade with Indians.

Thus the letter by "Just" has already been answered. But while some of his criticism is unduly exaggerated, it will only be fitting that we admit the force of much of it. We work day and night, do not rest even on Sundays, fail to keep promises and settle accounts by making only part-payments to creditors. There is no doubt we should effect improvements in these four matters. We need an innate sense of honour, and, as His Majesty the Amir advised, it is essential for us to have western education.[1] There are nowadays any number of associations. If a well-known merchant founds an "Association for the Reform of the Trading Class" and brings about the much-needed reforms, many of our disabilities will disappear and the stringent licence regulations will also go.

Divine Wrath

These days the tram service in Johannesburg often becomes dislocated. Hardly a day passes without a break-down. There can be two reasons for this. The Indian community may persuade itself that it results from God's wrath on the municipality which prohibits Coloured persons from travelling by these trams. Another reason may be that those entrusted with the installation of electric motors have, for the sake of money, cheated and not done their work according to the contract.

Indian Issue at Colonial Conference

According to a cable received from England today, Mr. Morley has said that the Indian issue will be raised at the Conference.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

[1] *Vide* "His Majesty Amir Habibullah at Aligarh College", pp. 350-1.

446. "AL ISLAM"

The first issue of *Al Islam* was published on the 19th. Its proprietor is Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi of whom we have written often. The journal will be issued weekly on Fridays. Its annual subscription is 12s for Durban, 12s 6d for other parts of the Colony and 17s 6d for places outside the Colony. The first issue has two very good photographs, one of King-Emperor Edward and the other of His Majesty the Sultan [of Turkey]. We wish *Al Islam* a long life.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 27-4-1907

447. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

[*April 28, 1907*]

REGISTRATION LAW

The Rand Daily Mail has—for the present at any rate—come to the rescue of Indians. Two leading articles appeared during the last week. Commenting upon Lord Milner's article in the *National Review*, *The Rand Daily Mail* pointed out that the Colonies could not carry on without the other parts of the British Empire. For example, the trade of New South Wales in Australia with India is valued at £1 million a year. Its trade with Ceylon is even larger. Its exports to India exceed her exports to New Zealand and her exports to Ceylon are larger than those to South Africa. The article shows that the Colonies cannot do without India. The liberation of India will come about as soon as Indians wake up and become conscious of their rights. As far as the Transvaal is concerned, the remedy lies in our own hands: it is to go to gaol if the registration law is passed.

The second article in *The Rand Daily Mail* has greater relevance to the registration law than the first one. The writer says that the present Asiatic Office seems to serve no purpose. Its report shows that the Office has proved a failure. Though it has several clerks, inspectors and liveried peons, Indians can enter without permits. Though over £4,000 are paid by it every year on account of salaries, it is said that all the power is concentrated in the hands of a single Eurasian clerk. If this is so, one cannot see the point of spending £4,000 on the Asiatic Office; it would be better to entrust everything to that clerk. In fact, the permit problem is one of adequate police vigilance, not of enacting a new law.

The Rand Daily Mail has thus strongly criticized and roundly condemned the Asiatic Office. It would appear then that the Office is viewed with disfavour by others as well.

Meeting in England

A cable received here states that the meeting[1] of the Members of the House of Commons took place on Wednesday, the 24th. Sir Henry Cotton took the chair. Mr. Cox and other Members spoke. It was decided to have interviews with Mr. Morley and General Botha. I am writing this on Sunday. More news is expected on Tuesday.

Asiatic Bazaar

The authority to control Asiatic Bazaars or Locations has been vested in the respective municipalities. For the present this has little significance, as there exists no law compelling Indians to go to Locations. But it should be remembered that, if the Indian community submits to the new law, another law will be passed immediately forcing Indians to Locations, and then the municipal authority will prove very troublesome.

Meeting of South African Chambers of Commerce

The twelfth annual meeting of the Chambers of Commerce of South Africa took place on the 24th at Pretoria, when Mr. Mackintosh of Port Elizabeth presided. Mr. Prady of Germiston moved a resolution to the effect that Asiatics should be prevented from coming [into the Colony] and their trade stopped. He said in his speech that great harm was done by Indian trade as the whites could not compete with Indian traders. The whites had struggled hard in South Africa for a hundred years. How could Indians be allowed to oust them? Conditions in Standerton, Heidelberg, Potchefstroom and other places had deteriorated very much. If the influx of Indians could not be stopped forthwith, he said, they should be so heavily taxed that they could not afford to stay on. According to him, it would be better to drive out the existing traders, even after paying them compensation, if necessary.

Mr. Hobson of Maseru, who supported him, said that Indian traders had penetrated far into Basutoland and had captured most of the trade. However, according to him, Mr. Prady's resolution for winding up Indian business immediately was too drastic.

Sir William Van Hulsteyn said that all South Africa was opposed to Indians. But it was not proper to drive them out all at once or to discontinue their trade; it would be better to insist on their carrying on business in Bazaars only. The question of immigration did not

1 *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 440.

concern the Chambers of Commerce, and hence they could not interfere in the matter. He moved an amendment to the effect that it was necessary immediately to frame laws on Asiatic trade for the whole of South Africa.

Mr. Quinn supported the amendment. Mr. Henderson of Natal said that the Indian merchants had brought ruin to Natal. In Ladysmith and other places the entire trade had passed into their hands. Like locusts they devoured Natal. They caused harm to the Kaffirs also for the latter were powerless against them.

Mr. Jagger of Cape Town said that he too was opposed to Indians, but that sudden and complete prohibition was a difficult task. The Imperial Government would never assent to such laws. He therefore moved that, since the presence of the Indian community was detrimental to [the interests of] South Africa, immediate legislation was necessary to restrict their immigration and trade.

Mr. Ireland of Zoutpansburg said that Mr. Prady's resolution went too far. It was certainly necessary to adopt quick measures in the matter. The Asiatics were like the plague. Mr. Forest said that he shuddered to think of the number of Indians in Natal. Mr. Chappel of Pretoria supported the amendment. Mr. Burke suggested to Mr. Prady that he ought to withdraw his resolution so that the amendment, being unanimously passed, would carry due weight. Mr. Prady withdrew his resolution and the amended resolution was unanimously carried.

Then a discussion took place on the subject of the Dealers' Licenses Act. It was resolved that all Colonies should pass laws similar to that in force in the Cape, with local variations as necessary.

"Akiko" of Hasanmian's Son

A son has been born to Sheth Hasanmian, a partner of the firm of Sheth Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen. The *akiko* ceremony took place on Sunday, when a grand feast was given. Guests came from far and near and a lavish dinner was cooked for nearly 500 persons. Mr. Abdul Kadir had specially come from Durban for the occasion; so had Mr. Haji Habib from Pretoria. The occasion was celebrated with great *eclat*.

Some [of our readers] may not know what *akiko* is. It is the ceremonial shaving of the head of the new-born child on the seventh day. According to their wealth and position, parents set aside gold, silver or copper equal in weight to the hair, and the value of the metal is spent on the feast.

Attack on New Clare Washermen

A strong communication appears in *The Sunday Times* on the subject of washing places at New Clare. The writer says that the whole land

at New Clare stinks with putrid air. Indian washermen, according to him, have defiled the washing places; the water is dirty and stinks, so that clothes washed in it are as good as not washed at all. The writer is afraid that some day an epidemic is bound to break out because of clothes washed in that water. The Indian washermen have to be careful about this. The washing place should be drained each time and filled again with clean water. If this is not done, there is every fear of the washermen losing their livelihood, as the writer has suggested that the municipality should take effective measures.

"Coolie Merchants"

Under the above heading, a contributor has written bitterly for *The Sunday Times*. He alleges that it is only the Kaffirs and Indian hawkers who trade in gold pilfered from mines. It is only thus that they get rich. They melt the gold so stolen, make bracelets or armlets out of them and wear them on their persons. The detectives know this, but they do not, and sometimes cannot, arrest the offenders. The writer is certain of this, but good Indians and their English friends are not aware of this. He has, however, no doubt that Indians are carrying on smuggling on a huge scale.

No one knows how much of this is true. But it is necessary that those Indians who are in this business of smuggling should take the hint.

Incitement by "The Star"

The Star has reproduced in full Mr. Ritch's letter published in *The Morning Post* with its own comments. It says that the Indian community is vigilant and its friends in England are very powerful. There are no dissensions among Indians and they work well. They are very influential and they do not pause for breath even for a moment. The Imperial Government is greatly afraid of them. In the circumstances, says *The Star*, it will not be surprising if the new Bill is refused assent. The whites are sitting back without being interested in the Ordinance. *The Star*, therefore, suggests that the whites should hold big meetings and take steps to see that the Ordinance was passed. Otherwise Indian infiltration would increase to the detriment of the whites.

Clearly the whites are afraid that the law may not be approved. At this juncture it is necessary for us to exert all our strength. If this is done, a victory [for us] even now would be nothing surprising. But I am wrong. Those who have accepted the gaol-going resolution have already won. For them there is victory either way.

Deputation to General Botha

A cable in *The Rand Daily Mail* indicates that a deputation on the subject of the Asiatic Registration Act, led by Lord Ampthill, has already met General Botha. The deputation included Sir Muncherji,

Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, Mr. Ritch and others. Lord Ampthill said that no laws which humiliated the Indian community should be introduced. Indians, who are already in the Transvaal, should be enabled to live there honourably. In his reply General Botha said that there was no intention whatever of humiliating Indians, and that he would use his influence as practicable to preserve their honour. The members of the deputation told the Press representatives that General Botha's reply was satisfactory.

HAJI OJER ALLY

Mr. Haji Ojer Ally writes from Cape Town to say that the Cape Immigration Officer will not henceforth insist on a photograph being affixed to the pass. Mr. Ally saw Mr. Powell, the editor of *The Argus*, who has promised to help. Mr. Ally is trying to obtain £50 from the Cape Association for the London Committee.

INDIANS GOING TO LOBITO BAY[1]

The local agent of the employer informs me that all the Natal Indians have reached Lobito Bay safely. The climate in that part of Lobito Bay is very good.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

448. MR. GANDHI'S PLEDGE

JOHANNESBURG,
April 30, 1907

TO
THE EDITOR
INDIAN OPINION

SIR,

Many of our brethren have written to me to say that they will go to gaol in pursuance of the September Resolution, if the Registration Act of the Transvaal is passed. Every one of them deserves to be congratulated. From some of the letters, I find that a few are annoyed at the absence of such letters from leaders. Their not having written is, I am sure, no reason for doubting them. I do not think that they will come forward to take out the compulsory registers.

However, lest I should be guilty of this sin of omission, I hereby declare my pledge that, should the new law come into force, I will never take out a permit or register under the law but will go to gaol;

[1] *Vide* "Indians Going to Lobito Bay", p. 386.

and even if I am the only one left who has not taken a permit, my pledge shall stand for the following reasons:

1. I consider it a humiliation to submit to this law, and I prefer to go to gaol rather than submit to such humiliation;
2. I believe that my country is dearer to me than my person;
3. if, after having announced the September Resolution to the world, the Indian community submits to the law, it will lose everything;
4. I believe that prominent men who have been helping our cause in England rely upon the Fourth Resolution; if we shrink back, we shall not only bring dishonour on them but forfeit their help for ever;
5. the remedy of gaol-going cannot be applied against other laws, but for this Act, it is an infallible remedy and it can be adopted by everyone, whether small or great;
6. if I now retract, I shall be deemed unfit to serve the Indian community;
7. I believe that Indians will rise in public esteem if all of them remain staunch in not submitting to the law, and that, moreover, it will evoke sympathy in India also for the cause of the Transvaal Indians.

Many other reasons can be adduced. In the end I appeal to every Transvaal Indian not to miss this occasion and not to turn back. I beg the Indians of Natal, the Cape and Delagoa Bay to encourage us, the Transvaal people, and render help when the need arises.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

449. LETTER TO "THE STAR"[1]

Box 6522,
JOHANNESBURG,
April 30, 1907

TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR
[JOHANNESBURG]

SIR,

You have raised the bogey of the "Indian Peril" and based it on Mr. Ritch's able letter to *The Morning Post*. Fortunately for the country, you have evidently mis-read Mr. Ritch's letter and ascribed to him a demand not made by him for political rights on behalf of British Indians.

[1] This was in reply to an article in *The Star*, 29-4-1907.

If you will be good enough to re-read the letter, you will find that, instead of claiming any such rights, Mr. Ritch has repudiated the claim more than once. He says:

> In deference to the demand of the white colonist for protection against an unrestricted influx of Asiatics, the qualifications imposed by an Immigration Restriction Law, upon an educational basis, are assented to. He (the Indian) seeks no political power, and admits the right of municipalities to control the issuing of trading licences, with power of appeal to the judicial tribunals of the Colony against inequitable administration.

If words have any meaning, you have, in the above sentences in the letter you have printed, a complete denial of the charge made against the community.

The ground, therefore, being cleared as to the allegation of the British Indian wanting to have political power in South Africa, with your permission, I would venture to draw your attention to the fact that you are creating animosity between two communities living under the same flag without the slightest occasion, and, in support of my statement, I ask you to read the compromise offered by the British Indian Association, whereby everything that will be done by the Registration Act can be done immediately and without Imperial sanction being necessary. Greater identification is the cry raised. British Indians have themselves offered to exchange their lawful documents for those bearing sufficient identification particulars as may be mutually agreed upon. Not that the present documents do not contain enough details to identify the holders. The compromise has been offered to soothe the agitated mind of the colonist. Moreover, the compromise, strange as it may appear, goes further than the Asiatic Act itself, in that the former includes the taking out of permits by minors who have reached the age of discretion, the same to be decided by the Colonial Secretary.

You may ask why, if the offer is sincere, should there be any fuss about the Act. The answer is obvious. British Indians do not wish to be classed as criminals, as they undoubtedly are by the Act. They repudiate totally the suggestion that there is any illegal influx on a wholesale scale, or that there is any countenance of such influx on the part of the leaders of the community. Repressive legislation is required when those to whom it applies are not compliant and do not do voluntarily what is asked of them. British Indians have always claimed to be law-abiding, and, therefore, object to the class legislation which is a denial of the claim. You may call this sentiment, if you will. Still, it is one which is very real for the community I have the honour to represent, and it is hardly necessary for me to give you illustrations of sentiment having ruled men's actions from the time of Adam.

The suggested compromise can cost little. If there is any doubt as to its effectiveness, why not give it a trial while the Act is being

considered? Will it not be better and more Imperialistic for you to advocate the adoption of the compromise than unnecessarily to inflame the populace against harmless subjects of the Crown?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 30-4-1907

450. LETTER TO RAND PIONEERS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *May 2, 1907*][2]

[SIR,]

In connection with the action proposed to be taken by the Rand Pioneers and the Transvaal Municipal Association regarding the Asiatic Registration Act, I venture, on behalf of my Association, to draw your Committee's attention to the compromise offered by the British Indians, and to the fact that it completely meets every requirement of the Registration Act and hastens the fulfilment of the object your Committee has in view.

My Association has always held the opinion that, as a matter of fact, there is very little difference between what is required by the white colonists and what has been accepted by British Indians. The latter ask for no political rights and, as against the repeal of Law 3 of 1885, they consent to municipal control, subject to review by the Supreme Court, over trading licences, and to restriction on immigration along the Natal or the Cape basis.

My Association is firmly of opinion that much of the agitation is due entirely to a misunderstanding of the mutual position. My Association, therefore, ventures to suggest that, if your Committee will be prepared to meet a deputation of my Association, a great deal of friction can be removed and a solution of the question can be locally arrived at without the weaker party having to seek Imperial protection.

My Association has no doubt that your Committee is not actuated by any vindictive motives in its agitation against Coloured people. It is, therefore, hoped that the suggestion made by my Association for

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was addressed to the Rand Pioneers and the Transvaal Municipal Association, who had announced their intention of agitating in order to bring about the early enforcement of the Asiatic Registration Act.

[2] The letter, undated and unsigned, was published in *The Rand Daily Mail*, 2-5-1907.

consultation will be accepted in the spirit in which it is offered. If your Committee accepts the proposal, any date after the 8th instant will suit my Association.[1]

[ACTING CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION]

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

451. LETTER TO "THE STAR"[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *May 2, 1907*]

[TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,]

May I once more take the liberty of correcting you? I fear you have not yet understood the compromise. The cry is not "Trust the Indians", as you have put it. The cry is trust the Indians in the interim, and see whether the trust is not justified. Under the Registration Act, all Indians have to be compulsorily registered. Under the Indian offer, they can be voluntarily registered, and that now. But, supposing that the lowest class of Indians, as you have been pleased to classify some Indians, who enter the Colony, do not accept the proposal of the British Indian Association, the key to the situation is in the hands of the Government. A bill can then be passed cancelling all permits save those issued under the compromise, unless they are exchanged within a certain time. The law will then reach the culprits and leave the innocent free. The Act at present punishes the vast majority of the innocent, self-respecting people, for the sake of the guilty few. You dismiss the objections of the Indian community by describing them as super-sensitive. You dismiss Lord Ampthill and his friends equally unceremoniously by ascribing to them what you, I suppose, would call the "Oriental taint", and depriving them of the possession of a spirit of wider Imperialism. I can only remind you that Lord Milner, whom you will not classify with Lord Ampthill, in his article in *The National*

[1] This meeting, however, did not take place; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 468.

[2] After addressing a letter to *The Star*, on April 30 (pp. 449-51), Gandhiji called on the editor of the paper and had a discussion with him. *The Star* commented again on the subject. The above was Gandhiji's reply. *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 468-9.

Review, in reminding the colonists of wider Imperialism, places before them their responsibilities to British dependencies, and especially British India.

[*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

452. KLERKSDORP INDIANS AND SMUTS

We publish elsewhere a summary of the address presented to Mr. Smuts, Acting Prime Minister of the Transvaal, by the Klerksdorp Indians, and of his reply. It is clear from the reply that Mr. Smuts himself fears that his law, even if assented to, will be rendered ineffective if the Indian community sticks to the resolution on gaol-going. He therefore tries to persuade everyone that the Association's agitation against the Act is pointless. This much even Mr. Smuts seems to admit, that the law punishes, as it were, the whole Indian community just because there have been a few fresh cases of infiltration into the Transvaal. He adds that it may happen for a time that the police will question people in every nook and corner. Only Mr. Smuts can tell what is meant by "for a time". There is absolutely no doubt that the Indian community should under no circumstances submit to such a law. Mr. Smuts's speech should be treated as a provocation to Indians. He seems to hold that the Indian community can be ill-treated with impunity. It looks as if it will now get a chance to open his eyes [to the truth].

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

453. CAPE INDIANS

The Immigration Act of the Cape is so complicated that its implications cannot be realized just yet, but by and by the adverse effects will follow. One clause is especially mischievous: if any Indian leaves the Cape without a permit, his right to return will lapse. This means that, if a leading Indian businessman of the Cape leaves without the annual permit, he will not be able to return. Even if his business in the Cape continues and his family stays on there, that will not help him. We do not mean to suggest that the law will in fact hit the businessman so hard, but such are the implications of the Act. The result will be that all poor Indians will have to leave the Cape. And if a few Indians stay behind, what influence can they have? The Indian

businessmen in the Cape should heed this warning and see to it that no Indian leaves the Cape without a permit. We hope that those Cape Indians who happen to read this will bring it to the notice of the others and explain it to them.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

454. RIOTS IN THE PUNJAB

Cables giving startling news have been published in *The Rand Daily Mail* and *The Leader* of Johannesburg. We give their substance below:

> The people in the Punjab appear to be preparing for a revolt. This is the first upheaval of the kind seen in India after 1857. The Native Press has been inciting the people both openly and secretly. It was not right that [the editor of] the *Punjabi* should have been prosecuted. What only a few men knew is now known to the whole of India. The journal has become more powerful. People have ceased to be afraid of the repressive measures of the Government. Similar consequences followed the prosecution of the [editors of] Bombay papers. The officials have become panicky. In the Punjab, judges have enlisted themselves as volunteers and taken up arms. In the circumstances, the idea of staging a 'siege of Delhi' was abandoned. But people's minds do not yet seem to have been set at rest.

So go on the cables. It is our request that all of us should pray to Khuda or Ishwar for the good of India. The present is a critical time for India as indeed it is for us here in South Africa. We have to do our duty here. If ever manliness and courage were needed in the country's cause, it is now.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 4-5-1907

455. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

[May 7, 1907]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi was yesterday interviewed by a *Mercury* representative concerning the suggestion put forward by Mr. Lionel Curtis in *The Times*—a reference to which was contained in our telegraphic news columns on Monday—that the tropical possessions of Great Britain should be reserved for Indian colonization. Mr. Gandhi rejects the proposal.

As long as Indians have domicile rights in the Colonies, whether in South Africa or elsewhere, Mr. Gandhi objects, such a suggestion is not practicable, and would

certainly not be acceptable to the British Indians. As he has so often asserted, the entire motive which is animating the cause he has taken up on behalf of the South African Asiatic is to protect what he designates the Indians' "vested rights" in this country; and to deprive them of the title of domicile, which many of them now possess, would, of course, in his view, be to subvert those vested rights. Mr. Gandhi said that the rights of domicile were the main strength of the Indians' position, and he assented to the suggestion that they intended to make the most of it.

It was pointed out to Mr. Gandhi that the proposal seemed to be that the tropical Colonies should be reserved for immigration of the future, not necessarily contemplating the removal of Indians already possessing domicile rights, and he was asked what his view of that idea would be.

Mr. Gandhi denied that there was any pressure of population in India leading to the necessity of emigration, and pointed to the fact that the Indians who were brought over as indentured labourers did not offer themselves, but had to be persuaded to come —that, moreover, recruiting was becoming increasingly difficult. The same applied to the recruiting for other places in which Indian labour was wanted, and he advanced this to show that India had no real surplus population, and needed no outlet. The idea of reserving any territory outside India at all for exclusive colonization by Indians was therefore a gratuitous and unnecessary one. He did not believe that the resources of India had become too exhausted to support its people or the natural increase of its population. There was room for what he called "internal" emigration within India itself, but no need of any territorial provision outside.

He had often been asked, Mr. Gandhi proceeded, why, if this were so, Indians were found emigrating in such numbers to South Africa. The explanation was that South Africa had itself made the mischief by adopting the practice of indentured immigration—a system which, Mr. Gandhi said, nearly every Indian in South Africa would sign a petition against, and ask that it should cease.

[REPORTER:] But the trouble arises, Mr. Gandhi, not so much from the indentured Indian as from the free merchant class, and from whom the demand for equal trading rights mostly comes.

[GANDHIJI:] The Indian merchant follows the other Indians, to whom he looks for his business. If the indentured man was not here, the merchant would not be here. As it is, many of the better-class Indian merchants, who have large interests, remain in their own country, where they have scope for their business, and where every Indian tradesman would have scope if he preferred to stay instead of coming to the Colonies. As long as there remain opportunities for business among his own countrymen, there the Indian merchant will be found.

...Mr. Gandhi instanced the case of Zanzibar. There was, in fact, no need to reserve tropical Colonies for Indian occupation, for East Africa was already open.

Mr. Gandhi went on to refer to the Registration Ordinance in the Transvaal, and referred in disappointed terms to the decision of the Imperial Government to allow its sanction to the measure. Its effect was, he said, to place the Transvaal Indian in the position of a ticket-of-leave man. If they were to be dealt with along these lines it was better that the Indians should be undeceived at once. Mr. Gandhi said he foresaw the possibility of a position in which Great Britain would have to decide between losing the Colonies or losing India, for the people's self-respect was involved, and their existence under such conditions as in the Transvaal would become intolerable. The Indian was perfectly capable of realizing both sides of the question, and, he thought,

did so, but the Asiatic problem was not to be solved by measures such as the Transvaal Ordinance.

Asked whether he regarded the passing of the Ordinance as a weakening of the Indians' position in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi asserted that it undoubtedly was so, but he believed that the disappointment of their hopes would in the end result advantageously, if the Indians would abide by their resolve to resist. There would be, said Mr. Gandhi, no resistance by force, but passive resistance; and if the Indian people carried out their determination to undergo imprisonment rather than conform to the Ordinance, he thought well enough of the Colonial white to believe that such a demonstration of courage for the sake of a principle would be met with administration and, in the end, sympathy.

The Natal Mercury, 8-5-1907

456. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[Before *May 11, 1907*][2]

...Send Kalyandas to outlying places after the work in Durban is over.

Ask Harilal to write most of the letters, but you must sign them. Harilal should do all the work under your supervision. You will be considered the Chief Editor of the Gujarati section, though for the present mere supervision should suffice. If Harilal cannot cope with both proofs, you will yourself have to take up the Gujarati proofs.

However, I would advise you to take on, for the present, as little burden as possible of other work besides account books.

When the books are brought up to date and the balance-sheet drawn up, you...books...

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6080

457. WILL INDIANS BE SLAVES?

The Transvaal Act has received [Royal] assent earlier than we expected. The Imperial Government has chosen to take the first step of binding the Indian community with chains. It now remains to be seen whether the community will carry this yoke.

[1] Only pages five and six of the letter are available. From the contents, however, it is clear that it was addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi at Phœnix.

[2] Kalyandas was in Durban on April 23, 1907, doing Phœnix work; (*vide* "Letter to Kalyandas Mehta", (p. 436). This letter was clearly written on or after that date. He left South Africa by the same boat as Omar Haji Amod Zaveri (*vide* "Kalyandas Jagmohandas [Mehta]", p. 461); this must have been between May 6, when many farewell parties were given in honour of Zaveri, and May 11, when the note on Kalyandas was published in *Indian Opinion*.

We know of a young student from Japan who once went to a lawyer in Johannesburg for some personal work. As the lawyer could not see him immediately, the student waited outside. Meanwhile, an English official came to meet the lawyer. As he was about to enter the lawyer's office after knocking, the young Japanese held him by the sleeve and said to him spiritedly: "You cannot go in just yet. I have a prior right." Being a gentleman, the officer at once saw the point, and requested the young man's permission to go in first, as he had urgent work. The student was as polite as he had been bold. For, when the official asked his leave, he readily allowed him to go in. This anecdote should be engraved on the mind of every Indian, for it gives an exact idea of our bond of slavery. The young Japanese did not allow his self-respect to be flouted. When every one in Japan, the rich as well as the poor, came to believe in self-respect, the country became free. She could give Russia a slap in the face, and today Japan's flag flies very high in the world. Though her people wear a yellow skin, Japan enjoys friendship with white England as between equals. In the same way we too need to feel the spirit of self-respect. Having remained in bondage for a long time like a caged parrot, we cannot realize what honour and freedom are. Furthermore, like the parrot which is pleased when bound with a golden string and made to perform, we too are elated and blush pink at the thought of our imagined happiness, when our masters, whether white or Coloured, feign affection for us only in order to bind us with the golden thread and make us forget our real condition. To remind us of that condition, this irksome law has been sanctioned. Shall we now obey it and become slaves? Our Johannesburg correspondent says that the regulations under the new law will be lenient and considerate. That is to say, Lord Elgin may bind us with a golden thread. Shall we allow ourselves to be deluded thus? We, for our part, can only reply in the negative to both these questions.

A great deal of effort is required to get this law repealed, and in no case must we turn back. Let us give this matter a little thought. A huge meeting was held in September, and we proclaimed that the Indian community would go to gaol rather than submit to the proposed Act.[1] While doing so, every Indian took an oath in the name of Ishwar or Khuda. Though that law was disallowed, the one now passed is exactly of the same nature. All the arguments that could be advanced against such an Act then can be put forward now, and in fact many more. For we have worked hard against it and shouted our protests from house-tops. Moreover, we thought the Bill so objectionable that we raised big subscriptions with which to send the Deputation to England;

[1] Fourth Resolution; *vide* Vol. V, p. 423.

it cost us £700. In the presence of high officials, the Deputation told Lord Elgin:

> We should also place before Your Lordship one more fact and that is the Fourth Resolution passed by the mass meeting. That Resolution, which was unanimously approved by the meeting in all humility and firmness and affirmed with an oath, said that, if ever the Imperial Government should approve the Act, the Indian community would go to gaol rather than suffer the great indignity inflicted on it by the Act. So deep was the feeling of the community. We have submitted to much suffering till now. But the disgrace of this Act is unbearable, and that is why we have travelled six thousand miles to make an appeal to you. With this Act we have reached the utmost limit.

As though this were not enough, and as if there was the slightest doubt in anyone's mind about the gaol-going resolution, the South Africa British Indian Committee was formed, and many prominent men joined it. Now if, under any pretext, the Indian community should cancel the gaol-going resolution, what would be the result? Only that the South Africa British Indian Committee would have become futile. The Deputation's labours would have been in vain. .All the fame that the Indian community has now gained would turn into disgrace. The Government would henceforth put no trust in the Indian community's word. We would be classed with the lowest and meanest. If this should happen, the Imperial Government would give ready assent to all the laws directed against the Indians in South Africa. And in the end those who are not content to live a dog's life or that of a crow will have to leave South Africa. Moreover, if things should come to such a pass, there would be repercussions in India too, and the whole country might look down upon us with well-deserved contempt. Such are the force and the usefulness of the Fourth Resolution, and so serious its implications. It is therefore our earnest hope that the Indian community will not swerve from it. Whether or not all of us are agreed, those who realize how things stand must not fail in their duty.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

458. LICENCE CASE IN LADYSMITH

A second appeal has been preferred in this case. The licensing court has decided not to issue the licence. Though this is regrettable, we congratulate the Indian community. For it is only when such blatant injustice is done that we wake up, and also rouse the Imperial Government. There is no need, however, for any Indian shopkeeper to close down his business. There is so much pressure on our space this time that we cannot consider this matter in detail just now. We intend to do so next week.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

459. INDENTURED INDIANS

As a result of the Durban Corporation's decision to reduce the rice ration, the indentured Indians employed by them have struck work, and have got ready to go to gaol. They did this earlier also. On that occasion, the Magistrate was kind. He observed that, even though it was legal to give them maize instead of rice, it would be cruel to insist on the [letter of the] law. He therefore let the men off and advised the Corporation to give them rice as usual, even if it was dearer. The same situation has arisen today, but the Magistrate is Mr. Beans. He has given judgement strictly according to the law and sentenced many workers to a fine of £1 each. We hope Indian lawyers will look into the matter and do something about it.

If we think of the Transvaal Ordinance in this context, we can see that, when laws are found to be harsher, even poor indentured workers can muster enough courage to rise against them and get ready to go to gaol. We have seen from the case of the indentured men that such remedies often secure justice. If indentured labourers can do so much in self-interest, who will deny that the Indian community in the Transvaal ought to do no less?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

[1] *Vide* "Ladysmith Struggle", p. 482.

460. OMAR HAJI AMOD ZAVERI

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elsewhere in this number we publish an account of a meeting[1] held in honour of Mr. Omar Zaveri. Since our readers must be eager to learn about his career, here is a biographical sketch.

Mr. Omar Zaveri was born at Porbunder in 1872. He set out for Africa at the early age of twelve with his brother, the late renowned Mr. Aboobaker Zaveri[2]. While on the ship he began his education, and learnt Gujarati. For four years he studied privately and at the Government School in Durban. His studies were cut short by the death of Aboobaker in 1887. In 1890 he joined the firm of his guardian, Mr. Abdulla Haji Adam, as an apprentice. Then he satisfied, to some extent, his keen desire to learn Arabic and Persian. In 1897 he took part in public activities for the first time and was made Joint Honorary Secretary of the Durban Anjuman [-e-] Islam. Omar was interested in horticulture, and as fruit was scarce in Porbunder, he experimented with fruit-growing as a result of which some fruits are now to be had there in plenty. For six months during 1904, he toured Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, France, England and America and obtained valuable experience.[3] At this time, he had with him a barrister as a tutor-companion. It was meant to be an educational tour.

While in London, he met Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree and others, and returned to Durban the same year. He was then made Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, along with Mr. Adamji Miankhan. The work he has done since then is well known to the Indian community. His wealth, his servants, his house, his time and his education—all these have been entirely at the disposal of the community. During the Transvaal Deputation's visit to England and again during the agitation against the Dealers' Licenses Act, Mr. Omar Zaveri worked very hard along with Mr. Anglia. Mr. Zaveri also took a leading part in founding the Memon Committee. The Durban Library has received many gifts of books from him and he himself visited it almost daily. Impelled by a kind nature, he has always attempted to bring about private settlement of disputes among members of the Indian community. People hold such a high opinion of his integrity that he has had with him a general power of attorney

[1] *Vide* "Farewell to Omar Haji Amod Zaveri", pp. 462-8.
[2] Aboobaker Amod Zaveri
[3] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 271.

from a number of people. In the course of all this work, Mr. Omar realized the need for further education and intends to become a barrister after passing the Matriculation examination. As an instance of his humility and simplicity, it may be mentioned that he himself teaches his servants and children at home whenever he has the leisure. Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri possesses all the qualities denoted by his name[1]. He is still young in years. If his present ideas keep growing, he is sure to prove himself invaluable in India also.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

461. KALYANDAS JAGMOHANDAS [MEHTA]

Another gentleman who, by virtue of his qualities is a *zaveri*—although his name is Kalyandas—has sailed home by the same boat as Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri. Mr. Zaveri's function was to lead, that of Mr. Kalyandas to work silently for a good cause remaining in the background. In years he is still a child, but in our experience we have seldom come across a youth so tender of heart, so scornful of money, so regardless of his own body but at the same time so solicitous of the welfare of others. Johannesburg Indians are aware of the work done by Kalyandas during the terrible outbreak of plague in that city. We do not know of anyone having had occasion to be displeased with him at any time. India's chains would snap this day, if in that country captains like Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri and soldiers like Kalyandas came forward in large numbers. Rarely does one come across heroes who would ceaselessly, and always with a cheerful smile, quietly give themselves over to public service in pursuance of duty, that is, in the name of Khuda, seeking neither money nor honours, and never even dreaming of leadership. Kalyandases are rare indeed.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

[1] *Zaveri* means "jeweller".

462. FAREWELL TO OMAR HAJI AMOD ZAVERI[1]

Many gentlemen gave parties in honour of the well-known and popular Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri, the Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, on the eve of his departure for India [last week]. Finally a meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held on the evening of the 6th at Dawad Mahomed's Hall in Pyne Street. Those who gave parties to Mr. Zaveri include Mr. Dada Osman, Mr. Ahmed Osman, Mr. Tayob Moosa, Mr. Peeran Mahomed, members of the staff of *Indian Opinion,* Mr. Dada Abdulla, Mr. G. H. Miankhan, Mr. M. C. Anglia, Mr. Mahomed Cassim Camroodeen and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee. At each of these parties the number of invitees ranged from 40 to 100, and to some of them gentlemen from all the Indian communities—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian—were invited. At all these functions the qualities of Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri were extolled in various ways. The hope was expressed that, during his absence [from the Transvaal], Mr. Zaveri might be able to go on the Haj pilgrimage and also realize his desire of becoming a barrister. At one of the functions Mr. Ismail Gora expressed the hope that Mr. Zaveri would take advantage of his visit to Porbunder to resolve the dispute going on there about the Madressa. At the party given by Mr. Peeran Mahomed Mr. Gandhi was present, having come from the Transvaal for the occasion. As the news about the passing of the [Asiatic Registration] Act was received that day, the matter was also discussed at the party. Many speakers pointed out that Mr. Zaveri would be truly honoured if the spirit of patriotism he possessed could be inculcated in Indians, and if all of them supported the Transvaal Indians and exhorted them to adhere to the gaol-going resolution. Mr. Rustomjee had returned from Bombay on the same day on which a party was given at his place. He was much satisfied with the work of Mr. Zaveri who held his general power of attorney during his absence. He said that he felt happy and proud to be present on the occasion. A gold watch, a gold chain and a pencil case were then presented to Mr. Zaveri.

The party by the members of the staff of *Indian Opinion* was given at Phœnix. Twelve gentlemen from Durban, who out of regard for Mr. Zaveri did not mind the inconvenience of a journey to Phœnix, had accepted the invitation. The following address was presented to Mr. Zaveri by members of the staff:

[1] This was published as a "Special Report for *Indian Opinion*", presumably by Gandhiji, who was present at some of the farewell parties.

We, the undersigned, representing the staff of *Indian Opinion*, beg to express our thanks to you for the interest you have always taken in our Settlement, and in the political work which this journal is trying to do for the benefit of British Indians in South Africa.

We trust that you will have a pleasant and safe voyage to India and that, while there, you will not slacken your efforts in trying to alleviate the sufferings and disabilities of your countrymen in the South African Colonies.

We appreciate the interest you have taken in our work at Phœnix during your frequent visits, and we sincerely hope that you will soon return and be amongst us again.

Meeting of Congress

The hall was tightly packed for the Congress meeting on Monday. It was well decorated, the credit for which goes to Mr. Paul. At this meeting Mr. Dada Osman was elected Joint Secretary in place of Mr. Zaveri.

Before the address was read out, the President, Mr. Dawad Mahomed, made the following speech:

> The primary reason for Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri's popularity is that he is not partial to any community. He regards Hindu, Muslim, Parsi as well as Christian as his brothers. He looks upon his wealth [as something] to be used for the benefit of the community. Wealth that is not put to good use is useless. Mr. Zaveri, having come to feel that the glory of learning is greater than that of riches, has decided to pursue his studies further. If anyone thinks that education is impossible at this age, I would point out that Shaikh Saadi started his studies after the age of forty. Mr. Zaveri has freely used his men for Congress work. [For instance] Mr. Chhabildas rendered very good help [for that body].

Asiatic Ordinance

Speaking on the passing of the Asiatic Act Mr. Dawad Mahomed said:

> I am very sorry indeed about the Act that has been passed in the Transvaal. I shuddered when I read the telegram announcing the passing of the Act. It is very humiliating to us. Every Indian has a stake in opposing it. I have felt very strongly indeed that we should not submit to the law even if we have to lose our entire fortune [by opposing it]. I therefore hope that the Indian community in the Transvaal will firmly oppose the measure and be prepared to go to gaol, if that becomes necessary. Gaol, if one is sent to it for a cause like this, would be a garden. It adds to one's fame; there is nothing humiliating about it. I also hope that no one will

have any dealings with the Permit Office in Durban. If we do not muster adequate strength for opposing this law, the time for our departure will eventually come and bad laws will begin to be enacted in all parts of South Africa.

CONGRESS ADDRESS

We, the undersigned, on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress, wish to record our appreciation of the great and noble work you have performed for the Indian community during your term of office as [Joint Honorary] Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, for which office your recent travels in Europe and America excellently fitted you.

By your unremitting zeal, great patience, and patriotism, you have kept your Indian work ever in the forefront and have rendered invaluable assistance to the public cause. Your sweet, sympathetic disposition, and your unswerving rectitude have endeared you to all, and it will be difficult to fill the gap [created] by your absence. You have lived up to the traditions handed down by your late lamented brother, Aboobaker. Your hospitality has become proverbial. Your house has been open to rich and poor alike.

Your efforts in the cause of education, of which your encouragement of the Indian Public Library is only an instance among others, have been characterized by the same unflagging zeal that has pervaded all your public work. We know that it is your intention, in order that you may better serve your country, to improve your educational qualifications, and we sincerely trust that your desire will be fulfilled by the grace of the Almighty.

We wish you a pleasant voyage, a happy time in your home country, and a safe return.

Presenting the address, Mr. Anglia said that, if he himself had been able to do any public work, it was thanks to Mr. Zaveri for it was his zeal and patriotism that had inspired the speaker. Mr. Zaveri used to do a great deal of work himself. Besides, he made his men also work for the Congress, prominent among whom was Mr. Chhabildas Mehta. He helped a great deal. It was impossible to fill the gap caused by Mr. Zaveri's departure, but it was hoped that Mr. Dada Osman would more or less make up the loss. It was a matter of pleasure that Mr. Rustomjee should have arrived at the right moment. The Secretaries were sure to get much assistance from him. Mr. Anglia expressed the wish that Mr. Zaveri would become a barrister. Speaking about the Asiatic Registration Act, Mr. Anglia said that he had thought of going [to India] on a temporary permit but, as the law had now been passed, he had decided not to apply for a permit in order to show his disapproval of the measure. He hoped that the Transvaal Indians would stick to

the gaol-going resolution and that no Indian would have any relations with the Permit Office.

ADDRESS BY MEMON [FUND] COMMITTEE

Mr. Peeran Mahomed, the Joint Secretary of the Memon Committee, read an address on behalf of that organization. Here is a translation of it:

> We the members of the Memon Committee—which was formed to raise funds for helping poor Memons in every possible manner—wish to thank you most heartily for your exertions. Indeed, you are the founder of the fund, the organizer [of this Committee]. We can say without the slightest exaggeration that it owes its competence entirely to your devotion to the community, of which you are such an ornament. We can hope that, during your temporary absence, we shall be able to keep up the vitality of the Committee and hand it over to your charge when you return.

ADDRESS BY INDIAN LIBRARY

Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi read an address on behalf of the Indian Library. The following is a translation:

> We the undersigned, representing the Committee of the Indian Public Library and the visitors to that Library, hereby place on record our deep sense of obligation to you for the very great and tangible help rendered by you to the Library. Your love of knowledge is well known, and it was in keeping with it that you rendered so much assistance to this humble institution.
>
> We trust that you will continue to show goodwill for the Library, and we hope that you will soon return to resume your multifarious activities in Natal for public causes.

ADDRESS BY HINDU COMMUNITY

Mr. R. R. Moodley read the address of the Hindu community. Here is a summary of it:

> We consider it to be our duty to thank you especially on the eve of your departure for India. Though a thoroughly religious person, you have never made any distinction between Hindus and Muslims and have thereby won the hearts of both the communities. You have endeared yourself to all by your compassionate nature, truthfulness and regard for all. You have left us deeply obliged to you by your actions and have created an example worth following. We hope that you may reach India safely and, after your safe return, take up your work here again.

Mr. Paul then garlanded Mr. Zaveri on behalf of the Literary Society and Mr. Ambaram Maharaj on behalf of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha.

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH

Mr. Gandhi, who then spoke, said:

It is only right that we should present addresses to Mr. Zaveri. But Mr. Zaveri will accept our compliments as sincere only if we imitate him in his good qualities which we have praised in the course of our addresses. Mr. Zaveri has, however, done nothing for the sake of praise. He does not hunger for it and has rendered services to the community out of a sense of duty. He has shown by example what true wealth and education consist in. By using his wealth mostly in the service of the community, he has shown us the right use for it. He thinks that all the education he has acquired is for the sake of the country and uses it for that purpose. This is real education. Mr. Omar Zaveri believes that the most important means of overcoming India's misfortunes is unity among Hindus and Muslims. Even in India one will rarely find a person who has done as much as Mr. Zaveri to bring about this unity. Moreover, Mr. Zaveri possesses the quality of truthfulness, which, besides strengthening each of these three qualities, makes them more attractive and weaves them into a harmonious whole. It is only for this reason that we regard him as a true helmsman. We can be said truly to have honoured him only if we follow his example. It will be difficult for the new Secretary, Mr. Dada Osman, to fill the gap, but he is Mr. Zaveri's partner and Mr. Zaveri has unhesitatingly recommended his name to the Congress. There is thus reason to believe that Mr. Dada Osman will bring credit to his office. Mr. Anglia's and Mr. Dada Osman's is thus an exacting burden. He can be no ordinary person who can take Mr. Zaveri's place. We hope that these two gentlemen will faithfully follow Mr. Zaveri in his good qualities.

Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, who returned that day from India, compared Mr. Omar Zaveri with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.

Mr. Abdulla Haji Adam Zaveri said that, as Omar was a close relative of his, he could not but observe that Omar had brought honour to their family. He hoped that the Transvaal Indians would never submit to the Transvaal Ordinance. He was followed by Dr. Nanji.

PEERAN MAHOMED'S SPEECH

Mr. Peeran Mahomed said:

I was Mr. Omar Zaveri's neighbour. No amount of praise will be enough [to express our gratitude towards him]. I regard the Transvaal Ordinance as very oppressive. If a similar Ordinance comes into force here [in Natal], I say on oath with God as witness that I will never submit to it but go to gaol instead. I hope that the Transvaal Indians will do likewise. I agree with Mr. Anglia about Mr. Chhabildas Mehta. He has served the Congress very ably indeed.

Ismail Gora's Speech

Mr. Ismail Gora said:

I endorse everything that has been said about Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri. He has served the community very well. As Mr. Rustomjee has returned from India, the work of the Congress will now go on smoothly. We have to put up a stiff fight against the Asiatic [Registration] Act. The Transvaal Indians can never go back on the Fourth Resolution of September. If they do, it will do us much harm. The funds of the Natal Indian Congress are exhausted. We are in debt to the Bank. I therefore hope that the Secretaries will make adequate efforts and collect funds.

Mr. Chhabildas Mehta said that he could serve the community only because he had an employer such as Mr. Omar Haji Amod Zaveri. He had done no more than his duty.

Dada Osman's Speech

Mr. Dada Osman said:

Omar is to me a brother and I cannot say much about him. But I do wish that many more persons like Omar were born in the Indian community. I am thankful to the Congress for the honour they have done me by appointing me [a Joint Secretary]. Of course, the Congress has yet to see—as I have yet to see—how well I serve. I shall do my best. I am heartened by Mr. Rustomjee's arrival and I shall be proud of working with Mr. Anglia.

Zaveri's Reply

Mr. Zaveri gave a brief but impressive reply to all the addresses. He said:

The Indian community has overwhelmed me today by giving me a number of parties and presenting me addresses. I have not served so well that I deserve all this. I did all that I could, as a matter of duty. I thank the community for the address presented by the Congress and say that I shall constantly think of [public] service. Many gentlemen have expressed their good wishes that I may return from my Haj pilgrimage soon. God willing, I shall perform that duty soon indeed. I thank the Memon Committee for their address. I have done nothing much for them. I do not deserve an address from the Library at all. It really functions owing to Mr. Motilal Dewan's efforts. A man following a straight path never loses his way. I have endeavoured to serve my community in this manner and hope to do so in the future.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

463. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

"THE PLAGUE"

A calamity as great as plague has now befallen the Indian community. On Friday—after my last letter was sent—a cable was received saying that the Imperial Government had assented to the Act, which will mean slavery for Indians. Every one is asking: what can avail us now? But patriotic Indians, as they put the question, immediately realize that this is not an Act designed for our enslavement, but for the loosening of our chains. For we must not submit to it, but go to gaol instead. Looking at things this way, we should treat it as a blessing that the Act has been passed.

ENCOUNTER WITH "THE STAR"

Just as a dying flame burns the brighter, there ensued a duel with *The Star* when the Act was about to be passed. *The Star* published an article inciting the people against Indians, which was replied to by Mr. Gandhi.[1] Afterwards he met the editor of the paper and had a long talk with him. *The Star* then wrote another article which can be considered very polite, but the paper did not drop the quarrel. It said that Indians wanted the Government to trust them, and this could not be done. Mr. Gandhi wrote once again in reply[2], saying that there was no question of trusting the Indian community for all time. It asked to be trusted only this once, and that for a brief period. He made many other points besides. But there may not be enough space in *Indian Opinion* this week to publish translations of all of them. I would, therefore, recommend the interested reader to read them in full in the English section; the entire letter is good and worth the reading. A vivid picture can be had from it of the kind of struggle going on between the whites and Indians, and of its significance. It clearly shows that, while the Indian community wants to preserve its self-respect, the British say that we wish to kick them down. *The Star*'s campaign was obviously on behalf of the local Government and at its instance. Though we had very politely asked for interviews with the Rand Pioneers and the Transvaal [Municipal] Association,[3] they were refused. What does this signify? Only that they treat us like dogs and care little for what we say, which they treat as mere barking. No one can now say that

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Star*", pp. 449-51.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to *The Star*", pp. 452-3.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Rand Pioneers", pp. 451-2.

the Indians have not done all that was necessary for fulfilling the purpose behind the permit [legislation]. It is like pretending to be asleep while being wide awake. They know very well that the British Indian Association's proposal of voluntary registration does fulfil the objective of the Act in relation to permits. In fact, that objective is no longer there, but the thought now uppermost in their mind is how to humiliate the Indian community. The story of the wolf and the lamb fits this Act. When the strong wolf resolved to eat up the poor lamb, he began looking for a pretext for doing so. He blamed the lamb for muddying the water which he, the wolf, was to drink. When the lamb pointed out that he had really been drinking the water down stream, the wolf replied, "If it is not you, then it must have been your father who did that." So saying, he ate up the lamb. There is not the slightest difference between our plight and that of the lamb in the fable. They wish somehow to show that, even outside the field of politics, we are not their equals. That is why they have got this law passed. Lord Elgin's fear has proved a stronger motive than his inclination to do justice. Out of fear of the whites, he has done injustice to the Indians. But who can harm one whom Rama protects? I see signs that the Indian community will adhere to its gaol-going resolution, and the sight fills my heart with joy. For the present, at any rate, I feel that the passing of the law has been for us a stroke of luck. On all sides people appear filled with enthusiasm at the thought of going to gaol and making themselves happy there as in a palace.

Curtis

Something else has transpired which lends much support to these views. Mr. Curtis, a sitting member of the local Legislative Assembly, is said to be the sole author of this law. He has written to *The Times* to say that the law should be regarded as having been passed to establish the doctrine that there can be no equality between the whites and the Indians. All British subjects should not be regarded as equal. In other words, they want to demonstrate our slavery by means of this law. They want to prove by it that they have the authority and the right to deal with us in any way they choose, without caring to think whether we like it or not. In the measure in which they have obtained self-government and become free, they want to make slaves of us. The difference between slavery and freedom consists in the manner in which others deal with us. If, for the sake of a friend, master or father, I willingly perform the meanest job, I shall win greater respect, my master will think of me as a very loyal servant, and my father will regard me with affection. But if I do the same thing under compulsion, men will spit at me, think me a coward and ask why I did not kill myself instead of submitting to such slavery. The difference between our condition as it is without

the law and what it would be under the law is of comparable magnitude. We may put up with being unable to enjoy any rights in regard to land, with having our trade restricted, and with the denial of certain other rights, for there is no use of actual force against us in these matters. But the law in question seeks physically to bring compulsion to bear on our persons. Just as in India some of us oppress the *bhangis* and force them to dress in some particular fashion and use obsequious language lest we be polluted by their proximity [*sic*], it has fallen to our lot to be treated like *bhangis* here in the Transvaal. To remind us perpetually of this status, we are to be obliged to carry permits on our persons. When the Pope sent a similar order to the great Luther of Germany through an envoy, he consigned it to the flames in the presence of the envoy and said, "Go, tell the Pope that Luther is free from now on. Tell him of the fate of his bull." Since that day Luther has remained immortal. Millions may want to do what Luther did, but not every one can succeed.

Remedy

After reading this news-letter, many readers will want to know what we are to do now. The answer has already been supplied by Luther. We have now earned the freedom to burn old permits, together with the new ones. Not a single person must enter the Permit Office, for the situation is really all that hopeless. Anyone asking for a permit can do so only under the new law. But if the new law is not acceptable to us, we simply cannot apply for a permit. The first thing to do therefore is to see that no Indian goes to or communicates with the Permit Office. For the rest, we are only to watch and see what measures the Permit Office adopts to force us to take out new permits. They will not give Indians as yet the privilege of going to gaol. The permit regulations are yet to be framed. Then a final date will be fixed for taking out new permits. Only after that date can the doors of the prison-palace open for us. For the present, therefore, we should stay away from the Permit Office to show that we are firm and fearless and determined to implement our Resolution. Refugee Indians who are outside [the Colony] and do not hold permits should give up the idea of entering the Transvaal for the present. For the necessary permit can only be had under the new law and that no Indian should now ask for. I expect all Indians to have faith that the Almighty who rules over the earth has the power to grant us a living even outside the Transvaal. Further clarification can be had by referring to *Indian Opinion*, No. 17, p. 216.

Lord Elgin's Ointment

After having inflicted a cruel wound on us, Lord Elgin now seeks to heal it with an ointment of his own make. Reuter has cabled that,

while replying to a question concerning the Act, it was stated by Mr. Churchill that, during his discussions with General Botha, the latter had mentioned that the regulations under the new Act would be very liberal and would not hurt anyone's feelings. Reuter also adds that the Members of the House of Commons received the information with applause. Only a woman in labour knows the pangs of childbirth. The Members of the House of Commons doubtless play the midwife to us. Their applause shows that they were touched because our feelings had earlier been hurt. But they applauded without realizing the significance of Mr. Churchill's reply. Lord Elgin seems to be trying to win over children by humouring them. After the Act is passed, however liberal the regulations, our condition of slavery will remain unchanged. If we are yoked to a cart and the driver holds the reins loose, we do not for that reason cease to be cattle. What does it matter if, instead of impressions of all the ten fingers, only one finger-print were required, or even if only a signature were required instead of a finger-print? Even so, for reasons which I have explained, we cannot submit to the Act. Though we may be given good food and comfort as slaves, these things ought not to turn our heads and make us forget our true state of slavery. We have in all humility to inform His Lordship that, as long as compulsory registration is to remain in force, we will not submit to the Act, no matter what relief is granted.

SYMPATHY FROM DURBAN

Letters of sympathy from Indian leaders in Durban have been received at all places in the Transvaal. Our brethren in Natal have advised us to adhere to the gaol-going resolution. We should be grateful to them for this expression of sympathy. Accordingly, a telegram thanking them has already been sent in the name of the Association.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

464. HEJAZ RAILWAY: SOME INTERESTING INFORMATION

The special correspondent of *The Times of India* at Istanbul has reported some interesting facts about the Hejaz Railway. Here is a summary of his report. The correspondent has passed severe strictures on the railway officials, and he advises all those who wish to give money not to pay so long as the extreme corruption in the railway is not ended. He has also sent the photographs of Mr. Kidwai and Mr. Abdul Kadir, the students who had gone to Istanbul with money. We have written to the two gentlemen in order to ascertain their views and shall publish their replies when received. We cannot say how much truth there is in

this report, but *The Times of India* has given it wide publicity—which would suggest that there is an element of truth in it.

ORIGIN OF RAILWAY

The man who first mooted the idea of the Hejaz Railway was the notorious Izzet Pasha, who was responsible for the slaughter of Armenians. He is one of the self-seekers who surround His Majesty the Sultan. He hails from Damascus. Few people outside Istanbul know that the Sultan lives as a prisoner of the Syrian Pashas at Yildiz Kiosk[1]. Being a true Muslim, the Sultan readily approved the Hejaz Railway proposal when it was put before him. With a view to suiting everyone's convenience, he suggested that the proposed line should connect the harbours at Jidda and Yenbo with Medina and Mecca. But his suggestion was not accepted. Izzet Pasha persuaded the Sultan to believe that, if the line were started from Jidda, the British were sure to take advantage of it. They would set up their own man as Caliph. Izzet Pasha had made his own arrangements. He had even bought some land. He was being helped by Shaikh Abu Handa. It was accordingly decided to lay the track between Damascus and Medina.

FROM DAMASCUS TO MEDINA

The proposed track is to extend over about 1600 miles, of which 450 miles have been covered by now. Last year the profits from this venture amounted to only £61,900. Strenuous efforts are being made to raise subscriptions, but the people of Istanbul do not trust Izzet Pasha. No one therefore contributes any money. And though all the officials are required to contribute ten days' pay towards the expenditure on the railway, and 2d are collected on every official document also for this purpose, the result will depend entirely on collections made through appeals to the general public. It is said that Izzet Pasha has amassed much wealth. The Pasha exacts a private commission on all stores purchased. An American firm had to pay £3,000 as commission.

Though the laying of the first section of the line was started in 1901, even a fifth part of the track is not yet complete. Even where the line is already in use, no attention is paid to repairs, and, thanks to the inferior quality of the rails, things appear already to have fallen into a bad state. The line is altogether useless to Muslims coming from India and China. Even among the others very few use the Hejaz Railway, since no one wants to risk travelling on that line.

INDIAN DEPUTATION

Some time ago, a deputation of Indian students in Britain went [to Istanbul] with collections. They were well received by the Sultan.

[1] Palace of the Turkish Sultan

But they were not allowed to visit Damascus, although they wanted to. Their movements were watched by the secret police. And though they were awarded the Osmania medals and were otherwise well treated, the Pashas were all afraid [of them]. There are a few Indian Muslims who are in attendance on the Sultan, but they are not fully trusted. For the Pashas play upon the religious sentiments of the people for their own profit and do not want their fraud exposed.

Workers

All the work of laying the railway is done by soldiers, and yet the cost per mile [of track] has amounted to £3,720. Again, for want of sufficient equipment, the trains cannot run faster than twelve miles an hour. A former minister of the Sultan told me in the course of a conversation that no one believes that the railway will be useful. By the time the southern section is completed, the northern section will have gone out of repair; and one can reach Jidda by sea from Istanbul taking the same time as by train.

What Should Indian Muslims Do?

The same minister told me further that my Indian friends should not pay a pie unless they can exercise the right of supervision through their men and unless they are assured about the laying of a line from Jidda to Mecca. Just now there is so much corruption that there is little likelihood of the railway being completed. Many of the powerful Viceroys have told the Sultan that, in the name of the railway, regular embezzlement is going on. But the agents of Izzet Pasha do not allow anybody to [function] effectively. Of the hundreds of thousands of pounds received, nearly 25 per cent. have gone into the pockets of corrupt officials. Letters are received from the travelling public, in which they complain of scarcity of water, of dearth of other amenities [on the train] and of acute discomfort. Fares are also excessively high. The third-class fare from Damascus to Tebuk is £4, which works out to an anna per mile. At present Izzet Pasha is planning to build a new office for the railway in Istanbul at a cost of £50,000. This expenditure is quite unnecessary since there already exist many vacant buildings, but no one gives thought to this chaos.

Conclusion

The collections have already amounted to £25,00,000. Soldiers are being made to work at nominal wages. In five years, only 432 miles of track have been laid. The train does not run faster than twelve miles an hour. There are 16 engines, two first-class and 24 third-class carriages only. For the rest, passengers are carried in open wagons. The passengers travelling in these experience much hardship. The

railway has got into the hands of cheats and swindlers. The Viceroy of Hejaz had sent a telegram to the Sultan, saying that nothing could be done as long as the railway remained in the hands of predatory officials. This has proved to be true. "Hence," says the minister, "my request to the Muslims is that they should not send any contributions so long as the robbers remain at their posts and unless a guarantee is given about their removal".

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 11-5-1907

465. LETTER TO "THE STAR"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 11, 1907

TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR
[JOHANNESBURG]

SIR,

In your leaderette on Mr. Polak's letter regarding the Asiatic Registration Act, you state that "the most bitter opponents of the Asiatic trader would, probably, not be sorry if the proposed passive resistance movement resulted in the deportation of the most aggressive agitators". Unfortunately for the "bitter opponents", so far I have been able to see, there exists no such provision for compulsory deportation, as you seem to think there is. If, therefore, their wish is to be satisfied, a new act will be necessary to drive out of the Colony by physical compulsion those Indians who, in their own opinion, are doing a service to their country and the Empire in their struggle to retain for their countrymen some degree of self-respect and manliness. You proceed to add :

> Freed from the domination of the latter, we believe the great bulk of British Indians lawfully domiciled in the Transvaal would soon learn to appreciate the greater security which the Act confers upon them, and to recognize how much they have been misled as to the real effect of the new legislation.

One can quite understand your inability to enter into the feelings of British Indians. You have mis-read them entirely if you think that there is a single Indian who is likely, after the withdrawal of the domination (which does not exist), to appreciate the "greater security" conferred by the Act. In spite of my efforts to detect it, I have failed to trace any greater security. There can be no question of misleading the mass of the Indians as to the real effect of the new legislation. The issue is simple. Compulsory registration involves a special restriction on the

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion,* 18-5-1907.

personal liberty of the subject because of the colour of his skin. It has been put before the Indians in the Transvaal that such legislation amounts to a deep humiliation and a kind of slavery. They have, therefore, been advised that they ought not to barter away their present comparative state of freedom for the state prescribed for them by the new legislation, no matter how tempting it may otherwise appear to be. The above is the position they will be reduced to, according to my view, under the new legislation.

In order to avert the degrading blow, I have ventured, also, to tell them, first, that it is their duty firmly and respectfully to decline to submit themselves to re-registration under the Act; secondly, that, seeing that the Transvaal is their adopted home and that they are without any voice in the choice of their legislators, the only effective way in which they can make themselves heard is to submit to the ultimate result of a breach of the conditions of the law, namely, to prefer gaol to either re-registration or leaving the country or paying the fine; and, thirdly, that, consistently with the above attitude, they should cease to have any communication with the Permit Department, and should ask their friends and other Indians who may wish to re-enter the Transvaal not to apply for permits, either temporary or permanent, under the new law.

If it be said that both the last-mentioned points distinctly advance the anti-Asiatic purpose, so be it. It merely proves what I have often said —that the struggle, on the Indian side, is not to grasp as much of the Transvaal trade as possible, but to remain in the country with dignity and self-respect, and not to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

I admit, and many English friends have told me, that my advice may not be widely followed. I shall still be content if the misgivings of such friends prove to be well-founded. And, if British Indians choose to submit to the serfdom which the legislation seeks to impose on them, I can only say that we shall have deserved the Registration Act. We are undoubtedly put upon our mettle, and it remains to be seen whether, as a body, we shall rise to the occasion. I consider that the attitude above sketched is unexceptionable, and I claim for it from the brave colonists not derision but praise. But derision or praise, it will be churlish and sinful for myself and my fellow-workers to turn aside from a course which has been dictated by a conscientious purpose.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 14-5-1907

466. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
Sunday, May 12, 1907

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had intended to write to you a very long letter, but was unable to do so owing to a very severe headache during the train journey. The condition continued yesterday, and today it is no better. My health seems to have been seriously affected by my exertions in Durban this time. However, I feel confident of regaining my health through sufficient rest, earth treatment, etc.

I have sent some matter today. I expect to write or dictate more tonight. When I heard about the balance-sheet, it immediately occurred to me that it was desirable—indeed it was our duty—to give Thakkar an increment without his asking for it. I believe he is very useful to us. Despite some of his bad habits, he is strong on two points: his determined patriotism and his celibacy. His work is on the whole satisfactory. I would therefore specially advise you to give him an increment immediately. When I discussed this with Maganlal, I had thought of giving him one pound, but now I think it would be enough if you gave him half a pound for the present. Maganlal had suggested to me that Miss West should also be paid something. I much appreciate that idea also and feel it better that the rest of you should think of doing so before the idea occurs to Mr. West. I would advise immediate action in regard to both these things. Do please read Ruskin's book[1]. Always think about your teaching method while giving lessons to Anandlal and Harilal and make constant improvements in it. Please give Dada Sheth the boards that he has asked for. I hope you have sent the additional copies I wrote to you about yesterday.[2] Chi. Hemchand will probably leave by the end of June at the latest. He is thinking of passing through Delagoa Bay. Please send me the name and address of the person who is working for us in Delagoa Bay. The list of Hindi and Tamil books has not yet been received. I hope you have sent 25 copies to Omar Sheth. Send three copies to Jagmohandas[3] after marking them. Ask Omar Sheth if he wants more copies. Please write to him a courteous letter saying that the 25 copies are a present from the Press. Do always send a complimentary

[1] *Unto This Last*

[2] This letter is not available.

[3] Father of Kalyandas. The copies were presumably of the *Indian Opinion* issue of May 11, 1907 which carried the article on Kalyandas by Gandhiji.

copy to the Volksrust Public Reading-Room. I am writing to Chi. Jayashanker asking him to have our name included in the Indian Directory.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4743

467. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 14, 1907

[TO
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON]

DIGITS REQUIRED SOME CASES. ACT NOT YET GAZETTED. DIGITS ONLY INCIDENT[AL]. ROOT OBJECTION COMPULSORY RE-REGISTRATION CLASS DIFFERENTIATION. SOFTER REGULATIONS NO REMEDY REPEAL ACT REQUIRED. STRUGGLE DEEPER THAN MERE REGISTRATION. VOLUNTARY RE-REGISTRATION STILL OFFERED. OVERWHELMING MAJORITY READY GAOL THAN SUBMIT COMPULSION.

[BIAS]

Colonial Office Records: C. O. 291/122

468. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
May 16, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I enclose herewith order for the Germiston Sanatan Dharma Sabha. Please give the equivalent of the Hindi in English, and Gujarati also. In order to make the letter-heads appear artistic, you will have to use your judgement as to how they should be printed. What I think is that you could have the English in the form of an arch, and underneath the arch you could have the Hindi and Gujarati equivalent[s] in parallel columns. This is with reference to the title of the Sabha. The address will follow in the three languages, one after the other. The top with the mystic syllable "*Om*" may appear only in Hindi. It should be on ruled paper, 500 foolscap and 500 Bank[2]. I have told

[1] A copy of the cable was forwarded by Ritch to the Colonial Office on May 21.
[2] Bank note paper

them that it will be about 25/- for the whole order, but, if it is more, let it be more. Send your bill to the Sabha, Box 33, Germiston, at the same time that you send the letter-heads. In printing the addresses, you are not to give the Box.

I have written to Osman Ahmed. I have not by me the extract from *The Times of India*, as I have sent it to London. The Malays of Johannesburg do speak Dutch, the same as of[1] Cachalia's order, but very few of them are capable of reading the language. Why do you want to know it?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[Enclosure]

[PS.]

Please pay up the money due to Kalyandas and take a receipt. The £46 have been correctly credited to his account. It was no trouble bringing the parcels as the guard was known to me. He was no doubt critical.

Please continue the arrangement with Bhikhubhai for some time. I hope you have attended to Mr. Polak's telegram.

From a photostat of the typewritten original with a Gujarati postscript in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4748

469. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
May 18, 1907

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I think I threw off the headache on Thursday, but, though I am feeling much better, I do not want to give myself overmuch work yet. The treatment I gave myself was two local earth bandages and two abdominal bandages, and rest up to seven o'clock in the morning, instead of six. The real thing was as much rest at night as possible.

I am glad you have decided to adopt my suggestion with regard to increase in extra copies. I shall ask Hemchand to send you a list of the number of copies sold this week. Many, I know, are still left, but that does not matter. How many extra copies did you sell on your side?

Hemchand must go home, because I do not want to apply for an extension of his permit as it would fall under the new law; and as I

[1] "On" in the original

have advised others to do likewise, to be consistent, I must not get an extension for Hemchand. Hemchand thinks he will save a little money by going through Delagoa Bay, and see the place also. At the same time, if there is any reason why he should go through Durban, he will do so.

With reference to the block, I propose to charge the Association for it. That being so, I have told you that copies of the supplement should not be sold by themselves, nor should you advertise them for sale, as you advertise other supplements. If we sell those supplements, we can only credit the Association with the amount, which is hardly worth while. The *Advertiser* article is simply contemptible.

You know how to treat the vaccination marks. If not, you should look up Dr. Tribhowan's book, which is, I believe, with you.

I shall try to secure names for the Directory here. You may take out the advertisement of E. Ebrahim of Standerton. I do not despair of collecting the amount. I am glad you have written to Mr. Omar for his contributions. You may write again, offering more copies if he needs them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]
I am sending very little matter today.

From a photostat of the typewritten original with a Gujarati postscript in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4751

470. ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN BARRISTER

We had occasion to congratulate Mr. Joseph Royeppen and his relatives on the former's having graduated at Cambridge. We have now the pleasure of congratulating them on Mr. Royeppen's having passed his Bar Final examination. He may now be in our midst any day. That would bring up the total of Indian barristers practising here to four. In our opinion, the usefulness of the liberal education received by them can be measured only in so far as they use it for the advancement of their countrymen. Of all the countries in the world, perhaps India today, whether within her own borders or outside, has the greatest need of the talents possessed by her sons, and we hold that, before Indians who have received a liberal education can make such public use thereof, they will have to adopt voluntary poverty. Indeed, we are not sure that it is not the duty of every man to limit his personal pecuniary ambition. Whether, however, the larger proposition can be sufficiently proved or not, the smaller one we have already laid

down is indisputable. Apart from the work of securing ordinary civil rights for their countrymen in South Africa, Indians like Mr. Royeppen can do a vast amount of useful and quiet work in the way of internal and social reform. We place before them the self-sacrificing example of the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose and the late Mr. Kalicharan Banerji[1], both of them brilliant lawyers, who not only placed their legal ability at the disposal of their countrymen, but also their riches.

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

471. THE TRANSVAAL STRUGGLE

Forward ye all to battle, the bugles sound
Raise the cry and take the plunge, for victory's around.
There are deeds that may not be tarried,
Doubts, fears ever abound, and courage is harried;
They waste the days saying the time is not yet—
No such excuse ever did bring profit.
By plunging in and savouring success is strength found.
Raise the cry and take the plunge, for victory's around.
Through adventure did Columbus to the New World make his trip;
Through adventure did Napoleon have enemies in his grip;
Through adventure Martin Luther did the Pope defy;
Through adventure did Scott his debts re-pay;
Through adventure did Alexander have his name resound.
Raise the cry and take the plunge, for victory's around.

Thus sang the poet[2]. The song deserves to be learnt off by heart by every Indian, especially in the Transvaal. Let him grasp its meaning in full, and then plunge into the fight, regardless of consequences. The more we think about the Transvaal Act, the more we feel that it is to be shunned like a viper. The spirit of enterprise is essential for this. As the poet puts it, this matter brooks no delay, and fear is likely to sap our courage. Let us, then, have no fear. As the Gujarati saying has it, doubt is like a ghost and selfishness like a witch. Accordingly, if we go on having doubts, there will be no end to them. Once free from doubt, we shall win resounding success in the end. Whatever the excuse offered by anyone, believe it to arise from fear. Let every Indian expel the witch of fear and resolve that, whatever others might do, he for his part would go to gaol rather than submit to the new Act. If that happens, we shall see in the end that no Indian will be cowardly enough

[1] One of the pioneers of the Indian national movement
[2] Narmadashankar

M. K. GANDHI.

21-24 Court Chambers. 132

Telegrams "GANDHI"

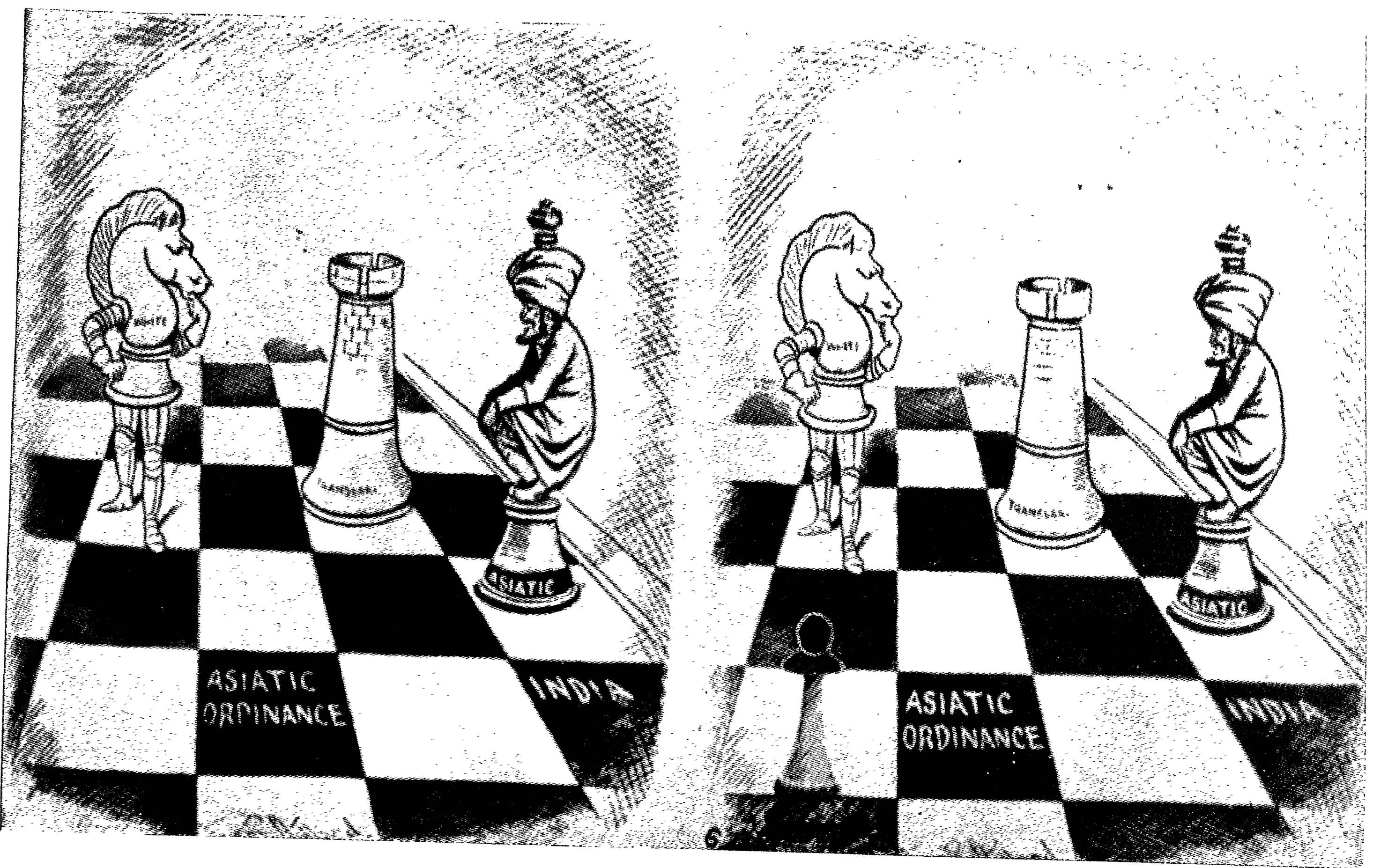
[illegible] 13th May, 1908.

My Dear Chhaganlal,

I enclose herewith order for the Germiston Sanatan Dharam Sabha. Please give the equivalent of the Hindi in English, and Gujarati also. In order to make the letter-heads appear artistic, you will have to use your judgment as to how they should be printed. What I think is that you could have the English in the form of an arch, and underneath the arch you could have the Hindi and Gujarati equivalent in parallel columns. This is with reference to the title of the Sabha. The address will follow in the three languages, one after the other. The top with the mystic syllable "om" may appear only in Hindi. It should be on ruled paper, 500 Foolscap and 500 Bank. I have told them that it will be about 25/- for the whole order, but, if it is more, let it be more. Send your bill to the Sabha, Box 33, Germiston, at the same time that you send the letter-heads. In printing the address, you are not to give the Box.

I have written to Osman Ahmed. I have not by me the extract from the "Times of India", as I have sent it to London. The Malays of Johannesburg do speak Dutch, the same as on Cachalia's order, but very few of them are capable of reading the language. Why do you want to know it?

Yours sincerely,



"GAME OF CHESS"

(PAGE 483)

to take out a new permit. Columbus kept up his courage even when his sailors, one and all, threatened his life. That is how he discovered America and became famous throughout the world. Napoleon, a youth from the island of Corsica, shook all Europe. Hundreds of thousands of men did his bidding. When the Pope sent Luther the bull of excommunication, he tore it up and became free. The great poet Scott proved himself a man of his word, despite old age, and went on writing, earning enough to pay off his debts. Everyone has heard of Alexander's Empire. With such examples before them, how can the Transvaal Indians lose heart even in the smallest degree? Letters have continued to pour in, which show that the writers would never go back on the pledge taken in September. However, if the Indian community breaks that pledge and retracts, this is what we think the future holds for us.

If the Indian community takes out the permits which are compulsory under the new Act, then in a short time

1. the trade licences in the Transvaal will be discontinued;
2. almost all the Indians will be required to live and carry on their trade in Locations;
3. the Malay Location will be lost to us and its present residents will be required to go to Klipspruit;
4. all hope of getting land rights will have to be given up;
5. the foot-path regulation will be applied to Indians;
6. many more of the trade licences in Natal will be cancelled next year; and
7. a Registration Act like the one in the Transvaal will be introduced throughout South Africa.

What Indian would care to live in South Africa under these circumstances?

We do not guarantee that all the rights referred to above will be secured if the new Act is opposed. There is, however, a possibility of at least some of them being granted. But whether we get them or not, the world will certainly recognize that the Indian community has vindicated its honour and the Transvaal Government will realize that the Indian community cannot be insulted with impunity. One's good name must not be sacrificed, whatever the cost. The good name of the Indian community will then have been saved.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

472. LADYSMITH STRUGGLE

There has been a fresh defeat for Indians in the matter of licences, and this calls for second thoughts. The Ladysmith struggle is to be treated as part of the struggle all over the Transvaal. We hope that no Indian will wind up his business. In the Transvaal an Indian not taking out a permit will go to gaol; but it is not so in Natal. For, according to the [Dealers'] Licenses Act, one can only be fined for carrying on business without a licence. There is no provision for imprisonment in default of fine. This appears confusing at first sight; in fact there is no confusion here. If the fine imposed under the Act for trading without a licence is not paid, the Government will have the right to recover it by attaching and selling the shopkeeper's stocks. This is not the time for people to be afraid of such things. Only when we allow our goods to be sold in this manner will the eyes of the Government be opened to the magnitude of the oppression inflicted on us. As for the situation in Ladysmith, we know that the Government itself is displeased with the Ladysmith regulation. Very likely no one will be prosecuted. But things will become difficult if what happened at Ladysmith today happens elsewhere. Just as we must show courage [at the prospect] of going to gaol, so must we show courage and face [a possible] confiscation of our goods. Here too we can point to the example of Englishmen themselves. When two years ago the Education Act was enforced in England, many people were reluctant to pay the Education Cess. There was only one way of collecting the tax from those who refused to pay it: that was to attach and sell their goods. Those who were displeased by the tax refused to pay it and allowed their goods to be sold, with the result that the Act is about to be repealed. In our opinion, the same course has to be taken if the licence menace becomes serious and no redress can be had by other means. While adopting this course, we should ensure that the shops and houses of Indian traders and their account books are all kept in order. We also hold that, if the Indian community in the Transvaal makes good its pledge, it will have good results in Natal too.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

473. GAME OF CHESS

When the news of the passing of the new Act was received, *The Star* published a forceful cartoon[1]. It shows the whites and the Indians playing a game of chess. With the permission of *The Star*, we reproduce the cartoon elsewhere with our own cartoon[2] in reply. According to *The Star*, the black king has mounted an attack on the Transvaal rook. The white knight, if it can enter the Ordinance square, will be in a position to check the black king. Now that the Bill has become law, the white knight can move into the Ordinance square and force the black king into the Indian square. The white knight is pleased.

In the cartoon which we publish in reply, it is shown that the square of the gaol-going resolution is occupied by a black pawn. The white knight in its hurry has overlooked the black pawn which guards the Ordinance square and the fact that it cannot move into the Ordinance square as long as the black pawn is on the gaol-square. It is further suggested that what in its blind hurry the white knight takes to be the black king is really not a king; it can only be a poor pawn.

The Star has attached so much importance to the Ordinance. It has charged the Indians with overrunning the Transvaal. All this shows that the new Act is not a trivial matter. We commend this drawing to every Indian for careful study.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

474. BOYCOTTING PERMIT OFFICE

The boycott was first started by the Chinese last year. We have seen the effects it has had. The Transvaal Indians, and other Indians wishing to enter the Transvaal, need not go to such lengths as the Chinese, but they should support the resolution on gaol-going, for implementing which it is necessary to suspend all business with the Permit Office. In Durban, no Indian should go to Mr. Burgess's office. In Pretoria likewise, no Indian should go to the Permit Office, or enter into any correspondence with it. It can be readily seen that, if we do not accept the new Ordinance, we cannot now go anywhere near the Permit Office, since all applications to the Permit Office made now will be treated

[1] & [2] *Vide* illustration facing p. 481.

as having been made under the new Act. We must not remain inactive on the ground that the new Act is not yet published in the *Gazette*. We were glad to learn that Mr. Mahomed Cassim Anglia, who had applied for a permit, intends to withdraw his application. Mr. Osman Ahmed intends to do the same. This news should fill us with enthusiasm. Every Indian should do the same. Now, considering the matter carefully, what can we gain by having anything to do with the Permit Office? What difference will it make [to our situation] if three or four Indians are able to enter the Transvaal [as a result of our dealings with the Permit Office]? And what harm will be done if they cannot? We hope that in view of the damage that is likely to be done to [the interests of the] entire Indian community if any business is done with that Office, every Indian will boycott it, as suggested by the British Indian Association.

On reflection, we think that young Indians, and others who have anything to do with the Permit Office, should break off all relations with it, and persuade others to do likewise. A couple of men can stand near the Office entrance by turns and if anyone wishes to go in, dissuade him from doing so.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

475. WHAT IS EDUCATION?

In Western countries education is so highly valued that senior teachers are treated with much respect. There are at present in England schools that have been running for hundreds of years and have turned out many renowned men. One of these famous schools is Eton. A few months ago the Old Boys of Eton presented an address to the Head Master, Dr. Weir, who is well known throughout the British Empire. Writing about the occasion, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, a well-known journal in England, has explained the nature of real education. Its comments deserve the attention of us all. The writer in *The Pall Mall Gazette* says:

> We hold that real education does not consist merely in acquainting oneself with ancient or modern books. It consists in the habits which one knowingly or unknowingly imbibes from the atmosphere, one's surroundings and the company one keeps and above all in work. It is all very well to acquire a stock of knowledge from good books or from other sources. But the more important thing is to learn humanity. The primary function of teachers is, therefore, not to teach the alphabet, but to inculcate humanity. Aristotle said that virtue is not learnt by reading big volumes. It is by doing good deeds that we learn virtue. Another great writer also

says that it is well for one to know what is good, but one will be considered a happy person only if one acts upon that knowledge.

Judged by these standards, English schools will not be found wanting. If we think of English schools as places for turning out human beings, we shall see that they give us statesmen and administrators. Those educated in German schools may have greater knowledge, but if they become also men of action like the pupils of Eton, it is not by virtue of their training in the schools. Despite the defects that may exist in English schools, it is these that produce true men. They are men who are ever ready to meet an enemy threatening at the gates of England.

We can readily realize how a country that invests education with such a noble purpose becomes prosperous. India's star will shine bright when Indian children receive such education. Parents, teachers and pupils ought to ponder over the passage quoted above. It would not do merely to know it, it is necessary to act upon it. That is to say, parents should provide for excellent education, teachers should discharge their responsibility and pupils should recognize that mere literacy is not education.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

476. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Miracle of Gaol-going

In the Transvaal and, if I am not mistaken, all over South Africa, Indians are discussing the gaol-going resolution. They feel certain that the Transvaal Indians will court imprisonment. Some say that gaol is a palace; others look upon it as a beautiful garden. Yet others consider it paradise. Again there are some who think that gaol will prove to be a key which will unshackle the Indians. Some others hold that, through the gaol gates, we shall pass from our present bondage to freedom. Thus in their several ways, people have shown enthusiasm about going to gaol. There are also some who, when the enthusiasm wanes, start worrying about what will happen to this person or that, and get into a panic. I have received a few letters of this kind and the questions they raise do deserve not to be rejected out of hand. For if we are to achieve success in the end, we should provide for the difficulties that are being felt. *Indian Opinion* as well as the Association has received some letters to this effect. I reply to them all in this letter and, on behalf of the Association, I apologize to the writers for its inability to answer them individually. I do not refer to the writers by name as this is unnecessary.

WHAT SHOULD TRADERS DO?

An Indian writes that his shop is run by him and his son, and that he has debts to pay. What should they do if they are both arrested? To this question there can be many answers. First, let me give the one that comes readily to mind.

Reply 1. Going to gaol is a great adventure, which will benefit not only the person concerned, but all the Transvaal Indians and, in fact, the Indian community as a whole. To win such great benefits, one must put up with whatever loss may occur. I believe that going to gaol will please Khuda or Ishwar. The Creator always helps us in anything we do in fear of Him. We reap the fruit of our labour in proportion to our faith in Him. The Prophet Mahomed and his disciples were once in a cave. A whole army was marching towards them. The disciples cried out in fear: "O Prophet! We are only three, and the army consists of hundreds of men. How shall we save ourselves?" The Prophet replied, "We are not just three. God, Who is a match for all, is also with us." It was owing to such superhuman faith that the Prophet succeeded in all that he attempted. The enemy could not do him the least harm. They passed the cave by; it did not occur to them even to look in. Likewise, if we turn to the Hindu scriptures, we find Prahlad, a steadfast devotee of God, who remained unharmed even when made to embrace a red-hot pillar, because he too had unshakable faith in God's help. In the same way, for an Indian who undertakes this adventure with Khuda as witness, there is nothing more to think about. The great God, the protector of the faithful and the preserver of their honour, is present everywhere and at all times. This reply implies reliance on fate. But, as we know, fate without human effort is of no avail. Hence, we need to think of other things too.

Reply 2. While thinking of human effort, we have always to bear the first reply in mind. For those who cannot fully and sincerely trust in God, there is a remedy indicated by Mr. Coovadia: that is, even if all the men working in a shop are arrested simultaneously, they should go to gaol. After returning from gaol, someone—not the proprietor of the shop—might take out a permit (not with the intention of obeying the law, but with that of getting it repealed) and run the shop. Every person will thus come out of gaol well trained.

Reply 3. If anyone finds it difficult to act up to Reply 2, permits for all persons other than the proprietor of the shop may be taken out on the last day fixed in the *Gazette* for the purpose.

Reply 4. The reader will remember what I said earlier: before it becomes necessary for an Indian to go to gaol, he will receive a notice to quit the Transvaal.[1] He will be arrested after the expiry of the notice-

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 419-20 and pp. 441-2.

period, then sentenced to pay a fine and to imprisonment in case of default. One must then go to gaol instead of paying the fine. It will thus be possible for the trader, during the notice-period, to make over his goods to his creditors. For the small trader this will be the best remedy. He is unlikely to find any difficulty in earning his daily bread after release from gaol.

What of Women and Children?

The Act gives [the Government] no power to arrest women, and children under sixteen. They will thus have to suffer nothing more than separation from husband or father. As for their maintenance, the answer has already been given that the Indian community will look after them. It is to be remembered that all the thirteen thousand Indians will not have to go to gaol at the same time. If, however, this should happen, our deliverance would be immediate. Since all the Indians will not be going to gaol at the same time, there will always be a few people outside to look after one another.

What Is a Valid Permit?

A correspondent has raised a further query. Anyone who has obtained a permit after making a true affidavit and whose permit bears his signature or thumb-impression is the holder of a valid permit, irrespective of whether or not he is a refugee. Only these [that is, holders of valid permits] are to live on in the Transvaal and court imprisonment.

What Will Happen to Men in Small Villages?

This question has been asked by a correspondent from Belfast. The answer to this is contained for the most part in the foregoing replies. If, however, the villages come in for attack first, Mr. Gandhi will very probably rush there. Even if he happens to be busy in another part of the Transvaal, the people need not at all be afraid. When an officer comes to investigate, whatever permit one holds should be shown to him. He should be told that taking out a new permit is humiliating to us and that it would never happen. If he asks for any finger-prints other than the thumb-impression, these should be flatly refused. If a notice is served on anyone, information should be immediately sent to the Association with particulars, such as name, address, etc. On the expiry of the notice-period, he should appear before the court and accept whatever gaol sentence is awarded. If a fine is imposed, it should not be paid. It is necessary that every Indian everywhere should communicate these instructions to those who may not know about them.

Boys over Sixteen

Questions on this subject have been asked from Pietersburg. No boy, as long as he is under sixteen, will be arrested. Boys who are over

sixteen, whether or not they hold permits or other documents, are in the same situation as the holders of valid permits.

What Will Happen to Existing Permits?

A correspondent from Lindleyspoort seeks to know what will happen to those who hold permits now, but go to India on business while the struggle is on, and then wish to return. He asks whether their permits will hold good then. For those who are preparing to go to gaol, this question will not arise. For no one can tell what the end of the struggle will be. However, generally speaking, the reply to this question is that such a permit-holder will probably find no difficulty in returning.

How to Act during Police Investigation

A correspondent from Volkstroom asks: what are the police to be told when they come to investigate? What is to be done if the police forcibly take away the permits? The answer to these questions is only this: produce the permit when they come. If required, give one thumb-impression only. If asked to take out new permits, refuse to do so, and say that you have no intention at all of taking out one, and that, if, for not doing so, the Government sends you to gaol, you will be ready for it. The police do not have the authority to take away permits by force. Therefore, if they threaten you in any way, reply boldly that you will not give up the permit. If any such thing happens, report it to the Association.

The same person also inquires what arrangements will be made for the dependants of those who go to gaol according to the Fourth Resolution, and whether the Association will pay the counsel's fees, etc. Answers to these questions have already been given above.

Curtis's Letter

Mr. Curtis has addressed a letter to *The Times* of London. A comment on it has already appeared in this journal.[1] The whole letter is reproduced in *The Star*. It is not necessary to offer a translation of it, as most of the facts in it are a matter of history. There are, however, some points in the letter that deserve to be noted. For Mr. Curtis is a member of the Council, and importance will always be attached to his statements. Every Indian will therefore have to think about the matter.

Mr. Curtis says:

(1) that Englishmen and Indians ought never to have equal rights;
(2) that the law which has been enacted lays down quite properly that their rights are not equal;
(3) that this law is only the beginning of a series of many similar laws to come; and

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Natal Mercury*", p. 454 and "Johannesburg Letter", p. 469-70.

(4) that Lord Selborne's promise that no new Indian would be allowed into the Transvaal should be honoured.

Mr. Curtis goes on to make other points, but those mentioned above are sufficient to put the Indian community on its guard. The letter shows that the Transvaal Act is intended not merely to provide for registration, but to humiliate us also, to show that we are not their [the whites'] equals in any way, and to brand us as slaves. From the letter one thing at least becomes certain: if the Act comes into force, and if we submit to it, instead of fresh rights being granted to us, we shall be deprived of what little remains to us, not merely in the Transvaal, but all over South Africa. We shall, therefore, do well to remember what kind of law this is. It will be better for every worthy son of India to leave the Colony or commit suicide than to submit to a law with such dire consequences. Mr. Polak, the editor of this journal, has given Mr. Curtis a biting and powerful reply. There is no time for translating it here. But it may be read in the English section.

Well Done, Standerton!

The Indian community in Standerton has been carrying on a vigorous campaign against the new Act. A correspondent of *The Star* went there to interview the local leaders. They told him plainly that Indians thought nothing of the hardships of imprisonment as compared to those that would result from submission to the new Act. They were well prepared to resist it, and had even raised funds for the purpose; but they would never submit to it. I hope that, following the example of Standerton, every Indian everywhere will boldly give the same reply. Now that we are on the battle-field, we have nothing to fear and nothing to hide.

Threat by "The Star"

The editor of *The Star* was somewhat piqued that the Klerksdorp Indians should have held a meeting about gaol-going. Mr. Polak therefore replied to him that not only in Klerksdorp but in Germiston and other places also such meetings had been held and that news was coming in from all over concerning the gaol-going resolution. This has enraged the editor all the more. He has said in his comment that there were only a few leaders who were inciting the Indian community, and that, if they were deported, the other Indians would not utter a word but would cheerfully accept the new Act. Mr. Gandhi has replied to him as follows:

Gandhi's Reply[1]

You say in your leaderette that those who oppose the Indians would not be sorry if their leaders were deported. But I ought to

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Star*", pp. 474-5.

point out to such opponents that there is no law authorizing the Government forcibly to deport anyone. If that is to be done, another law will have to be passed. Then the Transvaal Government will be able to deport those Indians who are ready to serve their country and even the Government. You say that, if the leaders are deported, the remaining Indians will obey the Act. They will then realize how the Act protects them and how they had been misled about it. It is readily seen that, in saying this, you cannot appreciate the feelings of Indians. You are mistaken if you think that there is a single Indian who takes the Act as being meant for his protection. I have repeatedly gone through the Act without coming across any section which might protect Indians. Moreover, there can be no question of misleading any Indians in this regard for what has been placed before them is a very simple matter: the new Act only insults Indians by branding them as slaves. In several ways the Act reduces Indians to the position of slaves since it is an attack on them as a community.

They have therefore been advised not to forego in any circumstances the existing rights by submitting to the new Act. If the new Act comes into force, I believe that the Indian community will be reduced to that position.

To ward off this deadly blow, I have advised people to do three things as under:

(1) They should not take out new registers.

(2) As the Indians residing in the Transvaal have no right to vote, the resolution about going to gaol is the only means they have to oppose any particular law. They should not take out a permit, nor leave the country, nor pay a fine; the only straightforward and effective course for them is to go to gaol.

(3) If they do this, they should have nothing to do with the Permit Office, and should also write to their friends to persuade them not to ask for new permits, whether temporary or permanent.

If anyone should say that, by doing so, they would be doing just what the whites wanted, let the whites think so. This will prove what I have always said, viz., that the Indian community is not out to save its trade in the Transvaal, but to stay here with honour. The Indian community will not sacrifice its good name just for the sake of a living.

Many English friends have told me—and I myself believe that —that not all Indians will perhaps accept this advice. Even so, I have no fear. I can only say that in that case we deserve the Act. It is certain that we are now being put to the test. It remains to be seen whether we stand it well or not.

I assert that no one can have anything to say against the position as set out above. Instead of looking down upon it, the brave colonists should admire our stand. But I think it to be a degrading and sinful thing to turn away from the path that we have chosen with true sincerity without caring whether others admire or condemn.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

477. GAOL-SEEKERS OF GERMISTON

We have had many letters from Germiston stating that the correspondents are prepared to go to gaol. Everyone has used his own arguments to support the decision to court imprisonment. As there is not space enough to print all the letters, we give below only the names of the correspondents: Babu Lal Bahadur Singh, Sukharam, Gangadin Sardar, Soni Kanji, Hirachand, Soni Gordhan Kanji, Babu Gangadin, Kalyan Gopal Thakore, Babu Hazura Singh, and R. S. Pandit.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

478. MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

A meeting of the [executive Committee of the] British Indian Association was held on Saturday the 11th. It was presided over by Mr. Essop Mian, and was attended by Mr. Coovadia, Mr. Kazi of Krugersdorp, Mr. Nagadi of Warmbaths, Mr. Suleman Ahmed, Imam Abdul Kadir, Mr. A. A. Pillay, Mr. Bhikha Ratanji, Mr. A. M. Bhayat, Mr. A. M. Aswat, Mr. Ameeruddin, Mr. Suleman Ibrahim Bhayat of Rustenburg, Mr. Naidu, Mr. Cachalia of Pretoria, Mr. A. M. Gatu, Mr. Alibhai Akuji, Mr. Omarji Saleji, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Bomanshah and others.

Mr. Gandhi told the meeting of the help received from Durban and answered many questions. He then added: "The present time is so critical that every Indian, without depending on what others do and irrespective of it, must act upon the resolution on gaol-going for the sake of his honour and for the sake of his country. In both Durban and Pretoria, no one should have anything to do with the Permit Office. No one should enter [the Colony] with a new permit.

Mr. Coovadia made a powerful speech and moved the following resolution:

> The Honorary Secretary should write to people everywhere, asking them to stop having any dealings with the Permit Office. Telegrams should be sent to Bombay and other places to say that those intending to go to the Transvaal should give up their plans for the time being. No one should give all the ten finger-impressions. Meetings should be held at all the places and people should be asked to refuse to submit to the new Ordinance.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Aswat and passed unanimously. Concluding the deliberations, Mr. Essop Mian said:

> No one should be afraid of acting upon the resolution on gaol-going. Going to gaol is for us like receiving an honour. We should not become dupes of our temptation that, if we submit to the new Ordinance, we shall get a few rights in return. Lord Milner and other officials made many promises, none of which was kept. That shows that we can win nothing unless we exert ourselves and give proof of our courage.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 18-5-1907

479. THE TRANSVAAL STRUGGLE

Why should you suffer taunts, my brother?
To be cowardly is a disgrace.
Suffer not insult; death is far better.
The pain of death comes only once;
Disgrace brings unending pain,
And every finger will point at you.
Early death with fame is gain,
And this the noble soul doth love.
A base thing it is to live for long
A lingering life of pain and shame.
Wealth may return that once has gone;
Forever gone are honour and name.
The loss of honour brings in its train
Miseries untold and threefold pain.

Letters received by us prove that today the Indian community in the Transvaal can think of nothing to talk about but the new Act. This is a matter for rejoicing. True to this spirit, we too will continue our discussion of the subject. Last week we quoted a poem by the great heroic

poet[1] of Gujarat. Another poem by him charged with the heroic spirit is printed above. The poet has shown vividly how it is a disgraceful thing to suffer taunts. Honour once lost cannot be recovered, as wealth or other things, if lost, can be. Moreover, the poet asserts that the loss of honour results in threefold suffering—of mind, of body, and poverty.

His Majesty Amir Habibullah has set an example of how respect can be won and maintained. His Majesty visited Lady Minto's fair, where he bought a few things. The person in charge of the sales was the daughter of a nobleman. In making the bill, she wrote "His Highness the Amir" against the buyer's name. The Amir returned it to the lady, saying that there was a mistake in it. The poor lady wondered what it could be. She checked up the total and politely said that there was no mistake. The Amir shook his head and handed back the bill. Nervously, she went over the bill again and, finding nothing wrong, requested him to point out the mistake. The Amir informed her through his attendants, "The Amir is now not just 'His Highness', but 'His Majesty'."

This incident has an important lesson. It shows how the Amir had become conscious of his dignity and we can say that from that day the Afghan people came into light. To be sure, even in maintaining one's honour, one has to be careful. If a conceited upstart should seek undeserved honour, we would ignore him as an impertinent person. His Majesty seized the right occasion. It was at a function like Lady Minto's fair that he reminded the lady of his title. Thus all the world knew about it. The lady had styled him "His Highness" out of ignorance but now no person or nation can show disrespect to him, intentionally or unintentionally.

Similarly, the Indian community in the Transvaal is now faced with the question of its dignity. If it shows courage now, all it has suffered till today will be put down to its good sense. If it submits to the Act this time, it will no longer be taken as good manners, but as baseness and cowardice. For every nation, as for every individual, there are occasions when honour has to be fought for. The Transvaal Indians are now faced with such a situation. The whites were caught unawares but now wonder whether Indians have enough courage to face imprisonment. It is our repeated appeal to the Indian community that all the thirteen thousand Indians should with one voice proclaim the answer, "Yes, yes and yes." Cowards die many times, the valiant only once. A cable from India says that, within six weeks, the plague took a toll of 4,51,892 lives. Instead of dying in such agony, what would it matter if an equal number had to die for the sake of their country? Is there anything that India could not achieve if Indians came forward in such large

[1] Narmadashankar; *vide* "The Transvaal Struggle", p. 480.

numbers to die for their country? But in the Transvaal, we are not faced with a comparable situation. All that needs to be done is to have courage to go to gaol and suffer a minor hardship. Is there any Indian who will shrink from this?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-5-1907

480. STRUGGLE FOR FRANCHISE IN ESTCOURT

Indians in Estcourt had claimed the right to vote at municipal elections, and the claim has been rejected by the Magistrate on the ground that, under the new [Natal] Municipal Act, an Indian who does not enjoy the right to vote at political elections cannot have the municipal franchise either, that is, the rights of citizenship. This judgement is altogether wrong. The Municipal Act has not yet been passed, and our fight against it is still going on. It is obvious that the Magistrate at Estcourt does not read this journal, although he gets it free. Otherwise he would not have given such a wrong judgement under an Act which has not yet received the approval of the Imperial Government. It is now essential that Estcourt Indians make an appeal.

Having considered the matter carefully, we want to say that Estcourt Indians ought not to have taken this step without the approval of the Natal Indian Congress. This is not the time when any one section of the Indian community can act independently of the others. There are many grievances [Indians have] in Natal. It is imperative to put up a fight. If in the course of this struggle, a mistake is made even in one town, it may prove detrimental to the interests of the whole community. We believe that there was no need of such precipitate action in the matter of the municipal franchise. Efforts are being made to have the Bill—now being discussed in Britain—disallowed. The Estcourt case is likely to have an adverse effect [on our efforts]. We are now in a dilemma. If the case is dropped, we shall be disgraced; if on the other hand we go on with it and the final judgement is adverse, the Act may receive [Imperial] assent. What difference does it make whether a few Indians get the vote or not? The right [to municipal franchise] must not be lost, because the loss of that right will degrade us. On the other hand, there is no indignity in desisting from the exercise of a right which we have. We hope that the Indian community, at all places in Natal, will profit from this incident and not take any steps without consulting the Congress. At the same time, we repeat that the appeal in the Estcourt case should be proceeded with. Natal Indians should remember that, if they wish to assert their

claim to the municipal franchise, they should pay up the rates before the month is out.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-5-1907

481. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Speaking on the Colonial Conference, Mr. Churchill has declared that the people of South Africa have the freedom to make whatever laws they wish relating to Kaffirs and Asiatic immigration. That means that the Colonies in South Africa have complete powers to regulate Asiatic immigration. All that will remain for the Imperial Government to do is occasionally to take a look at laws relating to Indians now residing in South Africa. But the new Transvaal Ordinance does not relate to immigration. And though it applies to the Indians already living there, the Imperial Government has given its assent to it. It follows from this that the local governments in South Africa will be able to attack the Indian community with impunity. The only weapon with which to ward off the attack is our resolution on gaol-going. As in the saying, 'there is no help like self-help, no water like that of rain', everything depends on our own strength and courage. Even by the road that we have taken we shall in the end arrive at the resolution on gaol-going; so far-sighted is the resolution and so obvious are its advantages.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-5-1907

482. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

New Act

Last week I replied to a number of questions.[1] But more questions are being received. Most of these have been answered earlier. However, let me here answer them again, and I may be excused any repetition by those who have clearly followed earlier replies. The reader is requested to keep the previous number handy for reference.

What Does Free Defence by Gandhi Mean?

There have been many inquiries in this regard. Let me clarify the matter further. If anyone is prosecuted under the new Act, and if the person concerned holds a valid permit or is otherwise entitled to reside

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 486-8.

in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi will defend him in the court free of charge. If the case is to be heard outside Johannesburg, the Association will pay Mr. Gandhi's railway fare; but if the place he is required to visit has made no contribution to the British Indian Association [funds] already, the Association will collect the dues. The defence will be in respect of the permit and the Government's refusal to issue a licence[1] when a new permit has not been taken out. That is, if a person does not hold a licence and is therefore arrested, he will not be defended free of charge. But a person who has been refused a licence for having failed to take out a new permit will be defended free of charge. The result of it will be that the person will ultimately have to go to gaol. Mr. Gandhi will not, with or without fees, defend those who do not desire a gaol sentence. A reference to the last number of *Indian Opinion*[2] will show in what manner the defence will be put forward. We recently heard that permits were being examined. If this is true, it is not being done under the new Act. If therefore anyone is arrested following such examination, he will not be defended free of charge. It has to be remembered that the case should fall under the new Act.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BY PERSONS GOING TO DELAGOA BAY?

An Indian going to Delagoa Bay is required to obtain a pass from the Portuguese Consul and has often to visit even the Permit Office. The question has arisen whether such a person should seek the aid of the Permit Office. It is obvious that, even in this case, no one should do so. But no one can prevent a person from travelling to Delagoa Bay. If at all the Portuguese Government should do so, he can always go *via* Durban, but he should not approach the Permit Office. However, the matter is being enquired into and I shall give more information later. Going to the Permit Office, however, is out of the question whatever happens.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BY PERSONS RETURNING FROM DELAGOA BAY?

It is reported that, at Delagoa Bay, an Indian has to produce a pass from the British Consul before a railway ticket can be sold to him. I believe that this practice is illegal. The remedy lies in the hands of the Delagoa Bay Indians themselves. But what applies to Durban applies to Delagoa Bay also. That is to say, no one is at present to take out new permits. Holders of old permits may come in only if they are prepared to

[1] The trader would naturally need to have a permit before his licence could be renewed.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 486-8.

go to gaol. Otherwise the best course will be not to enter the Transvaal for the present.

CAN ONE LEAVE THE TRANSVAAL?

A correspondent has asked whether an Indian who now leaves the Transvaal can return later, say, in June. According to the new Act, an Indian will, in this situation, have to take out a new permit. If he does not, he will have to go to gaol. Those, therefore, who have overcome the fear of imprisonment can boldly return. Those who are afraid had better stay out. If you are brave, you may come and go without fear.

WHEN ARE SHOPS TO BE CLOSED FOR THE DAY?

This question does not arise out of the Act. A letter from Machadodorp says that the police in the town require the Indian traders to close their shops early. If the police are doing this, it is illegal. But my advice to all Indian traders is that they should everywhere close their shops at the same time as the whites. We need not wait for legal compulsion. There is no doubt though that the necessary law will be passed in a few months. Municipalities have already been empowered to frame such bye-laws. Grace lies in doing a thing before we are forced to do it.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT TEMPORARY PERMITS?

This question and a few others arising from it have been raised by a correspondent. I know that some temporary permits expire at the end of June. My advice is that the holders of temporary permits should leave the Transvaal before the expiry of the permit period. To the very end, it is essential to show that our struggle rests on truth alone. Those who are in the Transvaal by right ought to defend their honour stubbornly. I can think only of two exceptions in relation to this reply —the Imam of a mosque and the Hindu Shastri. These two have come in for imparting religious instruction. Had the new Act not come into force, they would have had no difficulty in getting permits for a further period. Now they cannot take out new permits, but they can prolong their stay after duly informing the Government—but only with the intention of going to gaol. They can argue that they neither carry on a trade nor have they a share in anyone's income and that their sole function is to impart religious instruction to their people. They cannot, therefore, leave. This argument does not, however, apply to private persons who are here for business reasons. They may well be prepared to prove their courage by going to gaol, but I have to tell them respectfully that they may not enjoy the privilege of imprisonment.

Holders of temporary permits do not have the rights of refugees. They had come here for a temporary period and, at the end of it, are bound honestly to leave. If such temporary permit-holders desire to

serve the country, they can remain outside the Transvaal, dedicate themselves to the service of the country, and go about telling other Indians of the miseries of the Transvaal Indians. They can thus render much service to the community as and when the occasion arises. He who wants to be of use will always have the opportunity, wherever he may be at the moment and in whatever condition.

AND OF OTHERS WHO ENTERED WITHOUT PERMITS AND OBTAINED THEM LATER

Some Indians entered without permits when in the beginning they were free to do so. Later, such persons were granted Resident passes, in exchange for which they eventually obtained permits. A correspondent inquires about the validity of these permits. The reply is that all such permits are valid. He also wants to know what orders will be passed in such cases. This question results from ignorance. How can anyone order those who are determined to have nothing to do with the Permit Office? They are free and they will go to gaol to defend their freedom.

"GO TO GAOL"

I have received some letters containing exhortations to Indians to go to gaol. I am not sending these for publication. Today we need men who are themselves prepared to go to gaol. If they go to gaol themselves, there will be no need to advise others to do so; if one is not prepared to go to gaol, one's advice can have no effect on others. To those who have made this appeal my plea is that they should write and tell us what they propose to do themselves, so that their names can be published in the English and Gujarati sections of this journal.

WARNING TO HAWKERS

Regulations have been framed for hawkers all over the Transvaal, of which the following is a summary:

> A person carrying his goods in a wagon will be treated as a hawker, one who goes about on foot will be regarded as a pedlar. The pedlar may have a wheelbarrow. The licence fee for a hawker is £5 10s and for a pedlar £5. In his application, every hawker should state his residential address and inform the authorities of any subsequent change in it. On his barrow or on his pack, the hawker or the pedlar, as the case may be, should display the words 'Licensed Hawker for Johannesburg Municipal Area'. Likewise, the room where the hawker's or pedlar's wares are stored should also display his name and the words [of the notice]. If he issues any hand-bills, these too should bear these particulars. No person can make over his licence to another, except when a servant who has been employed for hawking wares is relieved and another person engaged in his stead, the original licence may, with

the permission of the municipality, be made over to the new servant. A hawker may not stay at the same place for more than 20 minutes for purposes of his business, and he may not visit the same place more than once in the course of a day.

Hawking is prohibited on mining ground. A hawker cannot take his wares out of his barrow for display as in a shop. Garden-produce can be sold by the grower or his servant without a licence, and in such a case the said regulations do not apply.

Regulations to this effect have been framed for the Johannesburg municipal area, and they will probably receive the Governor's sanction in a week or two. These regulations mean that no person with a hawking licence can stay at the same place. The President Street Market will henceforth be closed [to hawkers], that is, persons doing business there will need to have a shopkeeper's licence.

The regulations are of course harsh, but as they apply equally to whites and non-whites, nothing can be done about them. Similar regulations have been framed by the Krugersdorp municipality also. In effect, the municipality frankly says that, since most of the licence-holders are Indians, there is no harm in making the regulations as stringent as possible.

Tramway Regulations

At last, the tramway matter has been decided. The regulations which were opposed by the British Indian Association have now been passed and published in the *Gazette*. There are some good points about them. For example, the phrase "Coloured person" does not include an Asiatic. The regulations cover other points besides, some of which are dealt with below:

The Town Council has the right to reserve any tram-car or any part of it for Europeans or Asiatics or Coloured persons. The Council has the authority to grant special permission to any person to travel by any tram-car. The servants accompanying white children can travel by all tram-cars. A servant is allowed to travel with his master by any tram-car that the master is authorized to use. The Council is bound to provide reasonable facilities for travellers of all classes.

Two points in these regulations deserve to be noted. One is that the servants of whites, however dark, can travel by the same car as their masters. The other is that, according to Section 20, dogs can be carried in the car meant for the whites, provided the conductor does not object. In other words, unlike dogs and black servants, a free Indian will not be free to travel by a tram-car of his choice unless a special permit has been obtained by him for that purpose. In reply to this, one may point out that the whites cannot travel in cars meant for the blacks either. The only difference, however is that, while the whites are ranked with

the Queen Mother, Coloured persons and Indians are treated like the youngest housewife in the village. My advice is that, under such humiliating conditions, no one should ask for a permit. It all depends on us whether or not we continue to be treated as the youngest housewife in the village.

Locations

From the current issue of the *Gazette*, I find that the Locations at Christiana, Heidelberg, Potgietersrust, Rustenburg and Volkstroom have been made over to their respective municipalities. Locations at Roossenekal, Leysdorp, Amersfoort and other places have been closed down.

Washermen at New Clare

The editor of this journal has sent to *The Sunday Times* a reply to its attack on the New Clare washermen.[1] The reply shows that the accusations made in *The Sunday Times* by "Mr. Volture" were all false. The editor claims that the water flowing from the spring is not dirty. The water used for washing is changed twice a day. Indian washermen do not get their work done on a contract basis. Their houses are clean, and everything in them has been inspected by the municipality. Indian washermen hold certificates of efficiency from well-known Europeans. The editor has accordingly asked for an apology from the correspondent who wrote in *The Sunday Times*. In reply to this, the editor of *The Sunday Times* writes that the arguments of the editor of *Indian Opinion* are weighty and convincing. He wishes to publish a reply, but that "Mr. Volture" is ill and his reply may take a week or two. This shows that, for the present at any rate, *The Sunday Times* has suffered a defeat. For the information of those who may not know it, I should say that "Mr. Volture" is a pseudonym. It means vulture, the bird of prey. This human vulture had meant to eat up the Indian washermen, but it will not be wrong to say that for the present they have been rescued from its clutches by the editor of *Indian Opinion*.

Brave Ritch

A cable has been published in the newspapers here to say that Mr. Ritch has addressed a letter to the well-known paper, *The Times*. Therein he has smashed Mr. Curtis's argument[2]. He has put forward a strong argument in defence of the Indian community and shown how Mr. Chamney's Report is really in our favour. Mr. Ritch has been doing invaluable work. Day and night his mind is engaged in the same thought. He misses no opportunity of pleading our cause.

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 446-7.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 488-9.

Well-educated Indians should follow his example. It might be said that no one else would do as much work even if we paid him four times as much as Mr. Ritch receives from the Committee.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 25-5-1907

483. SPEECH AT MEETING OF CHINESE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
May 26, 1907]

THE CHINESE AS PASSIVE RESISTERS

...On Sunday last, at the hall of the Transvaal Chinese Association, a large and representative meeting was held to consider the next step to be taken with regard to the new anti-Asiatic law. Mr. Quinn, Chairman of the Cantonese Club, presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who had been specially invited to set forth the position. This he did, briefly and succinctly, pointing out that...the new law did not add to the security of those Asiatics [who were] rightly in the Transvaal, as had been so often alleged by the anti-Asiatic party and echoed by the uninformed general public, but really took away all their existing personal liberty, guaranteed under solemn Imperial pledges, substituting a restricted liberty, which no self-respecting subject of a civilized country could possibly accept...the only dignified defence of their rights that the Asiatics in the Transvaal could make was to ignore the compulsory clauses entailing re-registration, and submit themselves to the extreme penalty of the law, namely, liability to imprisonment; as also to boycott the Permit Office....[2]

Indian Opinion, 1-6-1907

484. LETTER TO "THE STAR"

JOHANNESBURG,
May 30, 1907

[TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR
JOHANNESBURG]

SIR,

The arrival of General Botha and the fact that the Asiatic Registration Act, though it has received the Royal sanction, is still the subject-matter

[1] This is extracted from "Johannesburg Jottings", which H. S. L. Polak, "Our Johannesburg Correspondent", contributed as a regular feature for *Indian Opinion*.

[2] The Chinese had pledged their support to the Fourth Resolution of the Indian mass meeting of September, 1906 and to the Second Resolution of the mass meeting of April, 1907 and also announced their intention of going to gaol if the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act was enforced. *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 440.

of correspondence between the Imperial Government and the local Government, encourage me to appeal once more to your good sense and, through you, to that of the colonists. Now that the anti-Asiatic party has obtained what it wanted, is it impossible to arrive at a reasonable compromise and to save British Indians from being considered untrustworthy and feloniously inclined? The Act is not yet gazetted, and it need not be until the Government wishes to do so. I, therefore, suggest that, before it is gazetted, a form for new permits may be mutually agreed upon, and, in accordance with it, Indians and other Asiatics may be registered afresh in exchange for proper documents they may possess. If, then, all Asiatics thus voluntarily surrender their documents, there can be no occasion for submitting them to the degradation contemplated by the Act. If, however, there are Asiatics in the Colony who do not surrender their documents, the Act can be immediately gazetted, and be made applicable, by a short Bill, to them. Thus, those who are *bona fide* holders of permits and are honest will be automatically separated from those who are guilty.

I do not know whether you can see any flaw in this proposal, unless you think that the object of the legislation is not that illicit traffic in permits may be stopped, but that it is to, openly and boldly, put an unwarranted affront upon British Indians and other Asiatics. Let me remind you, before any such declaration is made, of Lord Ampthill's remarks:

> This is not a matter which only touches our honour. We are pledged to our fellow-citizens in India—pledged by the solemn declaration of the Sovereign, by the pronouncements of our statesmen, and by all that is implied in the whole method of our administration of that great dominion—to treat the people of India as fellow-citizens in every sense of the word. We invite them to be proud of their citizenship of the Empire. We tell them, again and again, that there is nothing to prevent their rising to the same positions as are held by Englishmen in India, and we imply, in all that we do for them and say to them, that, whenever they are under the British flag in any part of the world, they will be treated as British citizens.

Lord Lansdowne feels so keenly the humiliation in which British statesmen are placed by this Act that he questions whether to wound the susceptibilities of the whole Indian nation is not more injurious and imprudent than to allow the surreptitious entry of a few Indians into the country. But the proposal I have ventured to sketch above is just as effective against surreptitious entry as may be by [*sic*] the Asiatic Act.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 8-6-1907

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE

Copy of certificate:

Cert. No. No.

ASIATIC REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE

190..

Name

Family

Caste

Father's name

Thumb Mark Height

Occupation

Address

Place of issue Age

Issuing Officer

Indian Opinion, 3-11-1906

APPENDIX 2

JOHANNESBURG,
October 23, 1906

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF SELBORNE, P.C., G.C.M.G.
GOVERNOR OF THE TRANSVAAL COLONY AND THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY,
JOHANNESBURG

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to enclose the original as well as a copy of signatures of 60 British Indians of this town protesting against the cause of the Indians of this Colony being represented at the Colonial Office by Messrs M. K. Gandhi and H. O. Ally and to request that Your Excellency will be pleased to transmit same to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies on which subject a petition signed by many British Indians has already been sent by Dr. William Godfrey.

I have the honour, etc.,
C. M. PILLAY

Pretoria Archives: L.G. File: 1902-1906

APPENDIX 3

COMMON ROOM,
LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.,
[LONDON,
November 15, 1906]

[TO
THE TIMES
LONDON]

SIR,

We notice in your issue of yesterday's date a report to the effect that Mr. Churchill said that the names of the two Indians who petitioned Lord Elgin disclaiming Messrs Gandhi and Ally as their representatives in England to protest against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance were Dr. William Godfrey and Mr. C. M. Pillay. As our names are already being confounded with that of our brother, we wish to state that we entirely disassociate ourselves from his views, his petition and the attitude he has taken up.

We repeat again our strong protest against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of the Transvaal which petition was sent to the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Elgin, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the 3rd November. We entirely agree with Messrs Gandhi and Ally's protest in this connection and heartily co-operate with them in the work they are doing.

The line of conduct adopted by our brother is inexplicable, as we always saw him to be an enthusiastic champion of our countrymen's cause in South Africa.

The petition misrepresents Mr. Gandhi as a political agitator. We have had the pleasure of being associated with him and the Indian work for at least 15 years and from this intimate knowledge of things, we can take the responsibility of saying that his is purely a labour of love and not a means to a selfish end.

Yours, etc.,
GEO. V. GODFREY
JAS. W. GODFREY

Pretoria Archives: L.G. File: 1902-1906

APPENDIX 4

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,
25/26, COURT CHAMBERS,
RISSIK STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
November 12, 1906

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY [THE] HIGH COMMISSIONER
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,

On behalf of my Association I have the honour to enclose herewith copies of Affidavits[1] now in possession of my Association which I have the honour to request you will transmit as soon as possible to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, etc.,
H. POLAK
Acting Honorary Secretary,
British Indian Association

Pretoria Archives: L.G. File: 1902-1906

[1] These affidavits, duly executed before a Justice of the Peace and corroborating each other, were signed by Candasamy Pillay, Samuel Vincent Thomas, Siva Lingham and Vadival Naidoo who all testified that Dr. William Godfrey had collected signatures on blank paper by the false use of the authority of the British Indian Association. The petition itself, which is summarized by Gandhiji in a statement on the subject addressed to Lord Elgin (pp. 196-202) and the real purpose of which Dr. Godfrey misrepresented to the signatories, was drafted later. When these facts became known, many of the signatures to Godfrey's petition were withdrawn.

SOURCES

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the Library of the Colonial Office, London. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documents. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

India (1890-1921): Issued by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London. *Vide* Vol. II, p. 369.

INDIA OFFICE JUDICIAL AND PUBLIC RECORDS: Placed in the Library of what used to be India Office, these comprise papers and documents relating to Indian matters with which the Secretary of State for India was concerned.

Indian Opinion (1903-61): Weekly journal, founded in Durban, later shifted to Phœnix, of which Gandhiji was virtually editor till 1914, when he left South Africa.

Journal of The East India Association: Monthly organ of the Association, founded in 1867.

The Morning Leader (1902-): Daily newspaper published from London.

The Natal Advertiser: Daily newspaper of Durban.

The Natal Mercury (1852-): Daily newspaper of Durban.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA, AHMEDABAD: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African and Indian periods up to 1933. *Vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

South Africa (1889-): Weekly published from London.

The Star: Evening daily published from Johannesburg.

The Times (1788-): Daily newspaper published from London.

The Tribune (1906-8): Daily newspaper published from London.

CHRONOLOGY

(1906 - 1907)

1906

October 20: Gandhiji and H. O. Ally arrived at Southampton, England.
Gandhiji interviewed by *The Tribune* and *The Morning Leader.*
Met Dadabhai Naoroji.

October 21: Deputation reached London. Accompanied by Prof. Parmanand, Gandhiji visited J. H. Polak and stayed with him for the day.
Met Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma.

October 22: Gandhiji wrote to *The Times* answering charge of Asiatic influx into South Africa.
Natal Indian Congress adopted resolution supporting Transvaal Indians' struggle against Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

Before *October 25:* Gandhiji met Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree.

October 25: Interviewed by *South Africa.*
Called on Ally at Lady Margaret Hospital.

October 25: Winston Churchill, Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, stated in Commons that Natal Municipal Franchise Bill was under consideration of Secretary of State for Colonies.

October 26: Gandhiji met Sir William Wedderburn and Dadabhai Naoroji.
First anniversary of Bengal partition observed in India as day of mourning.

October 27: Gandhiji interviewed by Reuter.
Met Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree and Sir George Birdwood.

October 30: Met Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree.

October 31: Drafted representation to Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for Colonies.
Met Sir Richard Solomon at House of Commons.

November 1: Attended National Indian Association reception.
Interviewed by *South Africa.*

November 3: Attended London Indian Society and Pan-Islamic Society meetings.

November 6: Met F. H. Brown, Sir Curzon Wyllie and Ameer Ali.

November 7: Addressed Members of Parliament.

November 8: Deputation called on Lord Elgin.

November 9: Gandhiji and Ally met Sir Lepel Griffin and Lord George Hamilton.

November 10: Gandhiji saw Bernard Holland.

November 11: Met Mrs. W. C. Bonnerjee.

November 13: Called on Secretary, British Committee of Indian National Congress.

November 14: In Commons, Churchill promised to make enquiries in regard to genuineness of petition by Dr. Godfrey and Pillay.

November 15: Gandhiji met Mrs. Spencer Walton.

Before *November 16:* Met W. T. Stead and Miss Winterbottom.

November 16: Wrote to *The Times* and gave interview to *South Africa* regarding Godfrey-Pillay petition.

Before *November 17:* Met Theodore Morison, Sir Richard Solomon and Miss Smith.

November 20: Dadabhai Naoroji felicitated by British and Indian admirers in London on election as President of Indian National Congress.

November 22: Deputation met John Morley, Secretary of State for India. Churchill stated in Commons that Vrededorp Stands Ordinance of 1906 was still under consideration.

November 23: Gandhiji and Ally met A. J. Balfour, A. Lyttelton, Sir Raymond West and Lord Reay.

November 26: Gandhiji opened discussion on British Indians in South Africa at East India Association meeting.
Liberal M.P's. decided to ask Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to receive deputation regarding Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

November 27: Gandhiji interviewed by *The Daily News*.
A deputation of M.P's. met the Prime Minister who said "that he did not approve of the Ordinance and that he would speak to Lord Elgin. . ."

November 28: Met Winston Churchill.
Questioned in Commons about the desirability of instituting limited Native franchise in new Constitution of Orange River Colony, Churchill expressed hope that Colonial parliament would show proper recognition of principle of "equal rights for all civilized men".

November 29: Gandhiji and Ally entertained friends and sympathizers at farewell breakfast in Hotel Cecil.

December 1: Left England for South Africa.

December 3: Churchill informed Commons that Secretary of State for Colonies was not able "without further consideration" to advise His Majesty that the Transvaal Ordinance should be brought into operation, and it would not "be further proceeded with at present".

December 6: Transvaal and Orange River Colony granted self-government.

December 18: Transvaal Deputation arrived at Cape Town.

December 20: Left Cape Town for Johannesburg.

December 22: Reception to Deputation at Johannesburg.

December 23: Gandhiji spoke at meeting of British Indian Association; at Johannesburg, address was presented to him and Ally.

December 25: Pretoria, Boksburg and Germiston Indians presented addresses to Gandhiji and Ally.

December 26: Reception in Durban; Gandhiji appealed for unity and continuation of struggle. In India, Dadabhai Naoroji declared *Swaraj* as goal of Congress; *Bande Mataram* sung for first time at Congress session.

December 27: Indian National Congress by resolution expressed "grave apprehension" that the policies of the Ordinance were "almost certain to be enforced" as soon as Transvaal became self-governing, unless Imperial Government continued to extend firm protection.

December 29: Reception to Deputation by Indian community at Verulam.

1907

January 1: Natal Indian Congress reception at Durban; Gandhiji pleaded for concerted action.

January 2: Visited Phœnix. Gandhiji and Ally gave account of Deputation's work in England.

January 3: Mahomedan Association meeting at Durban; Gandhiji appealed for unity and co-operation.
Addressed meeting of Natal Indian Congress.

January 5: Addresses presented to Gandhiji and Ally at meeting convened by Natal Indian Congress at Durban.

Before *January 12:* Gandhiji wrote to *The Outlook* reiterating that Indians wanted civil rights and not political power.
Imperial Government sanctioned Vrededorp Stands Ordinance.

February 15: Gandhiji appeared in permit case on behalf of Coovadia's minor son and secured acquittal.

February 18: Churchill informed Commons that Natal Government had been refused leave to introduce legislation excluding Asiatics from trading licences, and that Colonial Office was in communication with that Government regarding Act of 1897.

February 19: Churchill announced in Parliament that compensation to Indians dispossessed under Vrededorp Stands Ordinance was subject of communication between Colonial Office and Transvaal Government.

March 2: British Indian Association protested to Registrar of Asiatics against taking of finger-impressions by police.

Before *March 8:* Gandhiji visited Volksrust.

March 10: Attended meeting of British Indian Association and Anti-Indian-Law Fund Committee.

March 11: Attended British Indian mass meeting.

March 19: Asiatic Registration Bill gazetted.

March 22: Asiatic Registration Bill passed in Transvaal parliament.

March 24: Gandhiji attended second meeting of British Indian Association and Anti-Indian-Law Fund Committee.

March 29: Transvaal Indian mass meeting protested against Asiatic Registration Act and offered voluntary registration.

April 4: Gandhiji called on Smuts at Pretoria and presented resolutions adopted at mass meeting of March 29.

April 8: Spoke at meeting of Natal Indian Congress in Durban.

April 9: Wrote to *The Natal Advertiser* correcting mis-statement regarding unauthorized immigration into Colony.

April 21: Elected to committee for malaria relief at Springfield.

April 24: Meeting of Members of Parliament decided that deputations should wait on General Botha and Morley in regard to problems of Transvaal Indians.

April 29: Deputation led by Lord Ampthill waited on General Botha, who repudiated any intention of hurting British Indians' feelings in the Colony by the new measure.

April 30: Gandhiji in letter to *Indian Opinion* pledged that he would oppose Asiatic Registration Act and appealed to Indians to be steadfast in their stand.

Deputation led by Sir Henry Cotton waited on Morley, who expressed willingness to address General Botha on modifications which it might be possible to introduce in regulations under Asiatic Registration Act.

May 4: Gandhiji spoke at meeting presenting address to Alexander, ex-Superintendent of Police, Durban.

May 6: Addressed Natal Indian Congress meeting bidding farewell to Omar Haji Amod Zaveri. At another meeting advised boycott of Permit Office.

May 7: Interviewed by *The Natal Mercury*.
Attended farewell dinner to O. H. A. Zaveri.
Churchill informed Commons of General Botha's assurance that regulations under Asiatic Registration Act would be revised with a view to removing, as far as possible, undesirable conditions.
Asiatic Registration Act received Royal assent.

May 10: Gandhiji returned to Johannesburg from Durban.

Before *May 11:* Met editor of *The Star*.

May 11: Addressed Committee of British Indian Association on existing situation.
Wrote to *The Star* criticizing its suggestion that Indians opposing Registration Act be deported.

May 26: Addressed Chinese Association meeting on anti-Asiatic laws.

May 30: Wrote to *The Star* appealing to colonists not to enforce Registration Act and to accept voluntary registration by Indians.

INDEX OF TITLES

INDEX

A

[1] Henceforth referred to as TARA

[2] Henceforth referred to as TALAO

B

[1]Henceforth referred to as SABI Committee

D

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O

[1]The word "permit" is often used in translations to refer to registration certificate.

Q

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ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
27	Footnote	This was drafted . . . available.	Vide "*Draft for Chinese Ambassador*", *pp. 59-60.*
60	Footnote 2	p. 65	*p. 72*
139	Footnote 2	pp. 7-10	*pp. 60-2*
255	item 285, date line	[Before *December 20, 1906*]	[*Before* December 18, 1906]
257	item 286, date line	[Before *December 20, 1906*]	[*Before* December 18, 1906]